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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE
FOR
GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT
HELD AT
PHILADELPHIA
JANUARY 25 AND 26 1894
TOGETHER WITH
A BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF
MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT AND REFORM
AND
A BRIEF STATEMENT CONCERNING THE
OBJECTS AND METHODS OF
MUNICIPAL REFORM ORGANIZATIONS
IN THE
UNITED STATES

PHILADELPHIA
THE MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

1894
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INTRODUCTION.

The increasing interest in the question of the government of our American cities was strikingly shown in the first "National Conference for Good City Government," held in the city of Philadelphia, January 25 and 26, 1894. This Conference, presided over by James C. Carter, Esq., of the New York Bar, was attended by many of the most distinguished business men, educators, lawyers, journalists, and clergymen of the country, who, either as delegates from municipal reform organizations, or as invited guests, read papers and delivered addresses, marked by wide observation, wise counsel and sound, practical common sense. From Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Baltimore, Cleveland, Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Albany, Columbus, came representatives who had won their right to speak for their respective cities, by reason of earnest, self-sacrificing and public-spirited labors in behalf of higher civic ideals and a purer political life.

The programme was arranged with forethought and precision to develop: (1) The present condition of municipal affairs in our larger cities; (2) the possible standard to which cities can attain; and (3) the methods whereby can be evolved from the present conditions the highest municipal advancement. The formal papers were carefully prepared, and all the addresses were received with enthusiasm by an audience that at all times filled to the utmost capacity the gallery of the Art Club, where the morning and afternoon sessions were held. The discussions following the reading of

the papers showed close attention and a lively interest, and served to bring out and emphasize some of the more salient points.

The Conference was successful from every point of view: it awakened renewed interest in the subject and effectively increased the zeal of those already engaged in the work; it aroused from indifference and apathy those who had heretofore considered the municipal problem as one of small importance; it brought the subject of needed reforms forcibly before the minds of those who realize that municipal government is the one conspicuous failure in the political system of the United States; it showed that the subject is actually receiving careful study and earnest attention from our ablest and foremost citizens; it has created that *esprit du corps* among the workers that will be a source of inspiration and strength; and it has given a substantial impetus to the cause in Philadelphia, and in every city where the evils of municipal maladministration have arrested the attention of its citizens.

In response to a widely-expressed desire, the committee having in charge the conduct of the Conference have determined, in order to diffuse the good influences of the meetings, to put the proceedings into permanent form for future use, and to include in the volume a short account of movements in the United States having for an object municipal reform, in any or all of its phases, as well as a bibliography of the subject.

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ERRATA.

Page 18. Instead of Preamble and Resolution as printed, read as follows :—

WHEREAS, The elements brought together in this Conference should not be allowed to separate without providing some permanent agency for continuing its work, and promoting the comparison of views, the exchange of experiences, the discussion of methods, and that mutual confidence and sympathy which adds so much to the strength and enthusiasm of fellow-workers in a great cause; it is therefore

Resolved, That the President of this Conference is requested to appoint a representative committee of seven to prepare a plan for the organization of a National Municipal League, which shall be composed of Associations formed in American Cities and having as an object the improvement of Municipal Government. Upon the completion of the plan and its approval by such associations, or as many of them as the said committee may deem necessary, the committee shall declare the proposed League to be fully organized and prepared to enter upon its work.

Page 35. Line 13, for John read Robert.

Page 111. For Toqueville read Tocqueville.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
National Conference for Good City Government,
HELD IN
PHILADELPHIA,
Thursday, January 25, and Friday, January 26, 1894.

Thursday, January 25, 1894, 10 A. M.

MR. JAMES C. CARTER, of New York, presiding officer, upon taking the chair, addressed the Conference as follows:—

"*Ladies and Gentlemen*, I beg to acknowledge my thanks, my most grateful thanks, for the honor which has been paid to me in calling me to the Chair. No higher distinction could be conferred upon me than to call upon me to preside over an assemblage such as this, composed of delegates from the principal cities, who have assembled together to take council concerning the great problems of Municipal Government and concerning the methods by which that government can be made the best. I hail the impulse which has brought us together as the sure evidence of a renewal in our minds of the sense and consciousness of our public duties as citizens. It means to me a conviction on our part that while our patriotism should extend to and embrace the remotest parts of our land, yet it should begin and find its principal source of action at home. It means, I think, a conviction that our city governments and the great interests which are confided to them are everywhere subjected to the mismanagement of ignorance, and surrendered to the rapacity of spoil seekers, and this is in large part the consequence of our own

apathy. It means, I think, a conviction that if we would have our cities well governed, we must give to them something of the same attention we devote to our homes. It means a conviction that a large part of the evils which beset us in national politics are engendered and aggravated by the corruption of municipal politics, and the time has arrived when we should rescue our city governments and the trusts reposed in them from the domination of those interests which control national politics. I hail this movement as indicative of a rising tide of civic patriotism. Let us hope it may swell to a flood which may reach all the cities of our government, and carry with it a beneficent influence.

"Philadelphia is ambitious that it should bear her hearty endorsement, and has been prompt to offer her hospitality. She is now anxious to welcome you."

Mr. Carter introduced Mr. George Burnham, Jr., President of the Municipal League of Philadelphia, under whose auspices the Conference was held.

MR. GEORGE BURNHAM, JR., spoke as follows :

"Gentlemen and ladies, it is my pleasant duty to bid you welcome in the name of the Municipal League of Philadelphia to this conference in the interest of good municipal government. It seems to me very fitting that the first general conference, if I mistake not, on this important subject, should be held in the city from which one-hundred and twenty years ago a great people announced to the world that henceforth they intended to govern themselves.

"That they have done so, magnificently, does not admit of a doubt ; notwithstanding the fact that the failure of the promise of 'seventy-six' in certain minor, though most important, details is what brings us together to-day.

"History tells us of the joyful demonstrations with which this declaration was received on that July day ; and further, how nobly this people faced every trial and privation, and even death itself, in maintaining its idea. And yet, I doubt not, the last red-coat was hardly shipped home on the Cunarder of that

day ere the whilom patriot who ousted him began to neglect his party primaries. Indeed, the historical archaeologist may yet unearth from musty records some well-defined specimen of a ward-boss in knickerbockers, three-cornered hat and pig-tail.

"We are still a young nation, and it is ever characteristic of youth to do daring deeds, and make great sacrifices while fretting impatiently over the drudgery of daily routine. Before the youth reaches middle-age, however, he must have learned that successful life is mainly made up of daily drudgery; but drudgery conquered and made the vantage ground for high thoughts and noble deeds.

"I do not know, gentlemen, what sovereign remedies you may have brought in your gripsacks for the evils we are here to discuss, but this I do believe, that none of them can succeed that are not based upon such an awakening of the public conscience as shall lead our citizens to give the same serious attention to their political duties that they now grant to their business, church and social obligations.

"The committee, gentlemen, gave me a strong and well-defined hint to make this address of welcome short. A hint, I may add, that like Mercutio's wound, was not as deep as a well, nor as wide as a church-door, but was sufficient. They did not say short and sweet, but I suppose this was understood. Milton speaks of "linked sweetness long drawn out," but it is evident that this kind of sweetness was not expected in any event. If, therefore, the saccharine element is entirely wanting, you must lay the blame on the committee and not on me. Gentlemen and ladies, and especially those of you who are here as delegates from New York, Boston, Chicago, Baltimore and other outlying hamlets, again I bid you a hearty welcome to Philadelphia.

"I have been requested by the Committee having in charge the arrangements for this Conference, to announce that Mr. James C. Carter will serve as Chairman, and Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff as Secretary.

"I also wish to say that lunch for delegates and invited guests will be served in the room adjoining this, from 1.15 to 2.30."

Mr. Carter introduced Mr. Moorfield Storey, of Boston, who read a paper on "The Municipal Government of Boston." (See *Appendix*).

MR. CARTER: "I have the pleasure of presenting to you a delegate from the very interesting city of Brooklyn—interesting at all times, but more particularly so now, because her citizens, suffering from all sorts of abuses, have recently made an heroic effort to obtain relief. I introduce to you Mr. William G. Low, of Brooklyn."

Mr. William G. Low read a paper on "The Municipal Government of Brooklyn." (See *Appendix*).

MR. CARTER: "I have pleasure in introducing to you one of a pair of brothers always found in the front of everything good."

Mr. Franklin MacVeagh delivered an address on "The Municipal Government of Chicago." (See *Appendix*).

MR. CARTER: "Ladies and gentlemen, our brother Mr. MacVeagh has put his finger upon what we all must feel to be the weak and sore spot, and it seems that Chicago, with the best environment, and under the best circumstances, is not very fruitful of good government. We now pass from the West to the East, and I take pleasure in introducing Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte, of Baltimore."

Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte read a paper on "The Municipal Government of Baltimore." (See *Appendix*).

MR. CARTER: "This picture we have had painted for us is dismal enough, redeemed, however, by the merits of the artist we shall all agree. Now let us hear from nearer home. I have the pleasure of introducing Mr. George Guyas Mercer, of Philadelphia, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Municipal League, under whose auspices we are now gathered together."

Mr. George Guyas Mercer read a paper on "The Municipal Government of Philadelphia." (See *Appendix*).

Upon the conclusion of this paper the New York delegation

entered the hall and were greeted with applause, three cheers being given for Hon. Carl Schurz.

MR. CARTER: "We are glad to welcome the delegation from New York. Its Chairman, Mr. John Harsen Rhoades, will read the names of the delegates."

MR. RHOADES: "The friends of Reform in New York send greeting to the friends of Reform in Philadelphia and bid you God speed in the work you have in hand."

MR. CARTER: "I can vouch for them all as being good men and true, and they have arrived at the moment when they can hear of their own city from one of their own delegates, Mr. Edmond Kelly, of New York."

Mr. Edmond Kelly read a paper on "The Municipal Government of New York." (See *Appendix*).

MR. CARTER: "We have still a few minutes before the recess to be taken for lunch, and that time may be well employed by hearing any observations which delegates may see fit to make, or any questions they may wish to ask. It is open, broadly open."

A DELEGATE: "I would suggest that we take some steps toward adopting a badge and a motto. All organizations have badges. You can not go to New York elections without seeing one on the breast of Tammany. I think it is the appropriate time to confer with each other as to a badge. I simply throw it out as a suggestion."

This suggestion met with no response.

Mr. John A. Butler, President of the Municipal League of Milwaukee, secured the floor and proceeded to read a paper. (See *Appendix*).

At the expiration of five minutes, a delegate rose to a point of order, saying that he understood that the time remaining before lunch was to be devoted to debate and asking questions; the time of debate also being limited to five minutes for each speaker.

MR. CARTER: "Our friend will bear in mind that a certain program has been arranged and, after the conclusion of the addresses set down for this morning, the residue of the time previous

is lunch was to be thrown open for debate. The hour has now arrived for lunch."

A delegate then moved that a committee be appointed by the chair to appoint a time when Mr. Butler's paper could be heard by the Conference. This motion was carried and the Chair appointed Messrs. George Glynas Mercer and Herbert Weiss such committee.

The morning session adjourned at 2:30 P. M.

Afternoon Session, Jan. 25, 1914, 2 P. M.

MR. JAMES C. CARTER in the chair.

MR. GEORGE GLYNAS MERCER: "Mr. Chairman, the Committee appointed to consider when the reading of Mr. Butler's paper may be completed regret to announce that no time can be found for it in the regular order for to-day, but trust that there may be more time to-morrow afternoon. It was with the deepest regret that the Committee of Arrangements for this Conference found it necessary to decline a large number of papers offered after the programme had been arranged, but as we were forced to do so, we feel that it would be unjust to others to make an exception, even in the case of the President of the Municipal League from Milwaukee. We beg to say, however, that Mr. Butler's presence here is highly appreciated, and that we hope to hear the remainder of his paper before final adjournment."

Mr. Carter introduced Dr. Leo S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania, as the first speaker of the afternoon.

Dr. Leo S. Rowe read a paper on "Municipal Government as it Should and May Become." (See *Appendix*).

MR. CARTER: "I am instructed by the Committee to say that an opportunity for propounding questions and receiving answers will be given at the end of the reading of each paper, consequently there is now an opportunity to ask questions on the paper we have just heard."

A DELEGATE: "Is there a tax upon rentals?"

DR. ROWE: "There is a tax upon the returns, a rental tax paid by the landlord."

MR. CARTER: "Is it proper to ask whether unimproved and unoccupied land is not taxed?"

DR. ROWE: "There is a tax on real estate in Berlin."

MR. CARTER: "In what sense is the Civil Service obligatory? What is the penalty for not voting?"

DR. ROWE: "A forfeiture of the electoral franchise."

MR. CARTER: "What is the total annual expenditure of Berlin?"

DR. ROWE: "Nineteen million dollars."

MR. CARTER: "Does that include contributions from the State?"

DR. ROWE: "No; they are purely municipal."

MR. CARTER: "What is the population?"

DR. ROWE: "One million five hundred thousand."

MR. CARTER: "Is this nomination which can not be refused offered by a public party, or a nomination offered by the municipality?"

DR. ROWE: "It is not a nomination offered by the party."

REV. LEIGHTON WILLIAMS, of New York: "Ladies and gentlemen, I am grateful for the opportunity given me at this moment to express my profound interest in this Conference and my entire assent to the paper to which we have listened.

"We are all, I think, familiar with the metaphor of Jefferson, that our great cities were the ulcers of the body politic. Until we have seen the other side of the question, we are not capable of battling with it in the right spirit; I think the hopeful indications are the sense of the evils, the acknowledgment of their existence. Allow me to make four statements, which seem to me to be of importance.

"The first of them I notice in the paper to which we have listened, namely, that the conditions of city life were quite different from the conditions of rural life. The need must be understood before the remedy can be suggested, and that need in

our great cities has not been simply a condition of individual or partisan corruption, but of an antiquated and inadequate system of government. The township government, admired by De Tocqueville, was admirably adapted for a rural, evenly distributed population, but not to the complex condition of city life. We require a machinery equivalent to the complex demands of our cities.

"I am delighted that Dr. Rowe emphasized that point. It seems to me that here is one of the evils we have overlooked. We have had an antiquated machinery.

"Secondly, we require an intelligent public opinion.

"We have looked to the purity of the ballot and its safeguarding on all hands; but if you have the pure ballot, if you have the representation of the people at large, you must still teach them how to use it and how to do it. We have heretofore failed, in part at least, because we have not ourselves given to the subject the systematic study which it needs.

"I think again we need at this time theory in the way of a constructive programme, we must know in what direction we desire to move.

"I desire to say that at this time we seem to need, above all things else, such discussions as this for the dissemination of positive information, and the creation of a united and hearty support of measures of public utility.

"The Secretary gives me permission to say that with this object in view we have started a series of similar conferences to this in New York, and we have been so happy as to secure the co-operation of representative men of all parties, all creeds and all affiliations. I am empowered by my associates to present to the gentlemen to-day invitations to these conferences, and ask for their sympathy and their co-operation so far as circumstances permit."

MR. CARTER: "We will now resume the regular reading of the papers. We are now, ladies and gentlemen, to listen to a paper on 'The Relations of Civil Service Reform to Municipal

Reform,' which will be read by a gentleman whom I am glad to call to your attention. He is as ready now as before to enlist in any good cause without any reference to the consequences to himself, Hon. Carl Schurz."

Mr. Schurz took his place on the platform and was greeted with great applause and cheers. When the room became quiet he read a paper on "The Relations of Civil Service Reform to Municipal Reform." (See *Appendix*).

MR. CARTER: "Ladies and gentlemen, I beg to present to you a gentleman of whom you have all heard, Hon. Charles A. Schieren, Mayor of Brooklyn." (Applause and three cheers for the Mayor).

MR. SCHIEREN: "Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for this cordial welcome, and I listened with a great deal of interest to what our worthy friend said in behalf of reform in the city of Brooklyn, but I saw the other day a book whose title was "Words Only." I want to write a book which shall be called "Works Only." Words, with all due respect, are very fine, but after all the work is what tells. The arduous work I have before me is of a very queer nature. If I had been elected by two or three thousand majority, the Republicans justly would have claimed me, but having been elected by thirty-three thousand majority, everybody claims me. Therefore I am not the Mayor of the Republican party nor of the Democratic party; I am the Mayor of the city of Brooklyn. (Applause).

"I am the Mayor of the city of Brooklyn, and their interests I shall watch, and not the interests of a clique or a party, I shall do so without fear and without favor." (Applause).

MR. CARTER: "I think there can be no doubt but that promise will be fulfilled.

"Now we will proceed with the regular order and postpone the ten minutes debate until the close of the next paper, which will be on 'The Relations of Women to Municipal Reform,' and I take great pleasure in introducing Mrs. Joseph P. Mumford, of Philadelphia."

Mrs. Mumford then read a paper on "The Relation of Women to Municipal Reform." (See *Appendix*).

When she had concluded a lady in the audience suggested three cheers for Mrs. Mumford, which were heartily given.

MR. CARTER: "I ask your attention, ladies and gentlemen, to the paper on 'The Separation of Municipal From Other Elections,' by Mr. W. Harris Roome, of New York."

Mr. Roome read a paper on "The Separation of Municipal From Other Elections." (See *Appendix*).

MR. CARTER: "Ladies and gentlemen, that concludes the reading of the papers for the afternoon session, and the opportunity is now open for a general debate.

A delegate moved that a committee of three be appointed by the Chair to formulate a badge and motto to be worn by the members of the Conference.

This motion, upon being put to a vote, was lost.

Mr. Herbert Welsh announced the meeting to be held at Association Hall at 8 o'clock, on Friday evening, and stated that owing to the illness of Mr. Samuel B. Capen, of Boston, Mr. Moorfield Storey, of the same city, would address that meeting; also, that Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte, of Baltimore, had consented to speak upon "the Condition of Municipal Affairs in Baltimore.

Mr. Charles W. Watson, of the Union League, New York, made some remarks which could not be heard by the stenographer.

MR. W. J. CAMPBELL, of New York, said he knew a member of Tammany Hall's General Committee who annually contributed \$100, because by so doing he could pursue his business in peace, but that he always voted the Republican ticket. Mr. Campbell concluded by asking, "Don't we get as good city government as we deserve?"

A DELEGATE: "Yes."

MR. WILLIAM G. LOW said that he hardly thought the citizens always deserved the situation, as it was sometimes forced

upon them, and narrated an instance where a man was nominated in his senatorial district who was utterly unknown to the people and to the man who nominated him. Not only was he unknown, but he was voted for under another name. From the fact that this candidate never came forward and asked for the votes of the people, some went so far as to doubt his existence, and others refused to vote for him at all, as they did not consider he had acted in a straight-forward manner. The consequence was his rival was elected.

MR. HERBERT WELSH, of Philadelphia: "We can not get along without the aid of women in this work of reform, and I would like to justify myself in making this assertion. The difficulty with us in Philadelphia in our work of reform is we have to deal with a paralyzed public conscience when public questions are touched, and large numbers of men to whom we ought to be able to appeal with great force, we can appeal to with no force whatever. They have an idea that if the slightest change is made in the wretchedness of our local government, national matters, in which they are deeply interested, will be injured.

"I asked one of the wealthy men of this city, a benevolent man, and one having a deep interest in national matters, whether he would come to this convention and aid our good work. His response was: 'I will not touch it; I will not come.' I asked why; he replied: 'You are trying to undermine the foundations of society; you are trying to bring in the Democratic party.'"

"Now, sir, to men who are in so hopeless a frame of mind as that, and perhaps the majority of leading men in Philadelphia are in that position, who are sensitive to the last degree about practical effort made to redeem evils, we can make no appeal whatever. Certainly, we can get from the women of this community a conscience, and they are not so afraid of the question of national politics that they can not be relied on to reform local abuses.

"We have had an opportunity to observe the public school work in this city. It may not be known that the lady who addressed us a few moments ago has for years rendered a work of the highest value on our school-board, a work which is not surpassed by that of any man there. I appeal to the reasoning powers and not to sentiment. If it is true that intelligence, fidelity and excellent practical results have been obtained in this particular public department from women, why can not the same needed qualities and results be obtained by asking women to give their support to Municipal Reform in its entirety?"

Mr. Carter here asked to be excused, and called upon Mr. George Gluyas Mercer to preside.

HON. CHARLES A. SCHIEREN, Mayor of Brooklyn: "I am able to give a public tribute to the women and their influence on the last election of Brooklyn. The women of Brooklyn were interested in the election as soon as the nominations were made. We have various organizations in the City of Brooklyn which are controlled by women, and they do a most noble work. The paper the lady read I have listened to with marked attention, because there were illustrated many truths, and women in Brooklyn are working at that same problem, and I say publicly I wish to pay a tribute to the women of Brooklyn, and thank them for the good work they did for the city government.

"I say to you that the praying mothers of Brooklyn helped. It was their prayer that once more we would have a clean and honest government, controlled by the people, for the people, and for the benefit of the whole city. I say to you women, you may think that men are not appreciative. We may not show it in manner, but I say we do appreciate a pure, hardworking woman.

"Heine, although an atheist, said that a woman without religion was like a rose without fragrance. Nothing adorns a woman more than a true piety and true religion; and if she possesses these two things, she is one of the noblest gifts for man, and will have the greatest influence over him; and if the women of this

country will arise and study the question of municipal affairs, so far as they apply to woman's work, a great deal will be accomplished."

CHARLES W. BIRTWELL, of Boston: "I should like to ask if any one can tell me how many of the Leagues admit women to membership?"

MR. CALLAHAN, of New York: "Some one asked whether we have as good a municipal administration as we deserve, and I have not heard it answered. A gentleman answered it a moment ago, when he stated that a friend of his, who was a member of Tammany Hall, paid \$100 a year and voted the Republican ticket.

"I have heard it said many and many a time, that it was the poor man and the foreigner who was to blame for our bad municipal government in New York, and I suppose of all the cities of the Union. I maintain that these are not the men to blame, but the men who, like the gentleman who pays \$100 to the Tammany Hall people to be let alone, has not the spirit to say 'I must be let alone as long as I am doing right,' who does not attend to his duty as a citizen, who is afraid to go to any political meeting. These are the men who are really responsible for the bad government we are suffering under. (Applause).

"There is no question about it. I note it every day around in my business life, that men pay toll to be let alone. They are too lazy to do otherwise. They would sooner pay \$100 per year to be let alone and sacrifice their manhood, than they would to stand up and fight for it. These are the men to whom the people of this country may attribute the bad government that we are bothered with all the time; and until these men are taught the lesson that they must, if they want any rights or good government, march up to the polls, and see that the votes are counted after they are cast, we will never have good government in the cities of this country." (Applause).

Prof. D. S. Holman inquired whether or not women could be admitted as members of the Municipal League of Philadelphia.

Mr. Mercer replied that he believed they could be.

Mr. Holman asked how many women there were in the League, to which Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff replied: "The By-laws say 'Any *citizen* of Philadelphia may become a member' etc., but as the Municipal League of Philadelphia contains at present only voters, and women are not voters, there are no women members of the League."

PROF. HOLMAN: "I am glad for that answer. I thought women were not members of the Municipal League, and I suspected that was the reason. Now I would like to ask another question, and that is, whether the Municipal League as a body are in favor of giving all women in Philadelphia a vote the same as men?"

Mr. George Burnham, Jr., President of the League, was called upon to answer this inquiry. He said: "I can only answer for myself. If it should come up I should vote heartily for it."

Revs. J. Howard Smith and Leighton Williams both spoke favorably upon the admission of women to membership in Municipal Leagues.

Dr. Frances Emily White suggested that good government did not succeed because it was too much trouble. She believed, however, that it would pay in the end, but that there was an element to be dealt with in human nature which should not be forgotten; that the first question was, would it pay?

EX-COUNCILMAN THOMAS WALTER, of Philadelphia: "Every woman ought to be a member of the Municipal League, and even if they could not vote, they could do mission work at home, and thus be a great influence for the purification of municipal politics."

REV. THEODORE C. WILLIAMS, of New York: "This entertaining occasion illustrates the point I am going to make, and that is the great value of something left out of public life at present—debate. Political clubs are largely partisan, either Republican, Democratic or Independent, and there is somewhat of a lack of opportunities for young men and women to meet together and discuss freely disputed questions from opposite points of view."

"I happened to have been born and lived during my boyhood in one of the best governed towns in the United States, Brookline, Mass., and I assure you our town meeting was perfectly democratic, in the largest sense of the word; Mr. McCormick, the saloon-keeper, debated with Mr. Edward Atkinson, and, I must say, debated with equal vigor and equal ability. The other night the Boys' Club debated the contract labor question, taking part as little Italians, Germans, Armenians, etc., and the conclusion of the whole matter was "we want to keep foreigners out of the country." I think it is a good thing to encourage debating among young men, especially political debate.

"We have somewhat avoided them as engendering strife; we avoid them in our homes. I do not know how it is in Philadelphia, but my experience is, women, on account of their peaceful spirit, disparage political debate. I will say in closing, however, that as I was coming on the cars this morning with some delightful people, we were remarking on the great fact of human nature, that married men are so much superior in intelligence to bachelors, and the reason given was, that they live in an atmosphere of perpetual debate."

REV. W. I. NICHOLS, of Philadelphia: "This important question as to the part which women should take in the work of securing good city government has been referred to with rather too much levity by some of those who have spoken this afternoon. Not that there is any harm in a certain amount of pleasantry in regard to the subject, but it has also a more serious side, and should not be left without a word as to the greatness of the opportunity which is open to women, and the solemn responsibility resting upon them, concerning the objects for which this Conference has been called. Mr. Welsh has truly said that we can not hope to accomplish what we want, except by the help of women. And to my mind, one of the pleasant features of this Conference is the part that women have taken in it, not only by their presence, and by the aid which they have rendered, making arrangements for holding the Conference, but by the valuable

paper contributed by Mrs. Mumford. It is auspicious that women are willing to recognize a movement of this kind, and that they are ready to help in it.

“Personally, I should be glad if women, I will not say possessed the right, but would assume the responsibility of suffrage. But it does not rest with us who are here assembled to determine this. We are met to consider the specific object of municipal reform, and we should not turn our thoughts aside from it. The point to be emphasized is that even under present conditions women can do a great deal to promote the cause of municipal reform. It is in their power not only to influence the members of their own households, but also to exert an influence in the community at large. It is this work of interesting and persuading others that is the most important work which those engaged in reformatory movements of any kind are able to do. The comparatively small number of votes which such persons can cast directly in favor of good officials is of slight account compared to what they may effect by arousing public sentiment ; and this is an opportunity open to women as well as to men.

“And the first thing for women to do is to become deeply interested themselves in these questions of local government, and the next, to do all that they can in extending such interest about them.

“As a minister, I would say that one of the things that hampers those of us who occupy this position is the fact that women, who constitute a large portion of our congregations, as a rule do not take sufficient interest in these matters. If the subject of Municipal Reform, or any other relating to public affairs, is treated in the pulpit, many women will say, “that does not concern us, we are not voters.” Such matters do concern them, and they can, if they will, do much to create a right public opinion in regard to them.

“I am happy to state that in my own church many women are earnestly interested in the movement for Municipal Reform and in kindred subjects.

"At the present time a series of meetings is being held on Sunday evenings, relating to "Religion, Patriotism and Good Citizenship." The addresses at these meetings are being delivered by prominent men of this city, and there is a large attendance of both men and women.

"I regard it a duty as well as a privilege of ministers to have these topics presented in their pulpits.

"One reason why so many men are indifferent to churches is, that the subjects commonly dealt with in them are not such as pertain to the matter in which men are interested.

"As women become more interested in the questions pertaining to government, they too will care less for subjects which relate simply to emotional and speculative religion, and will desire to hear an intelligent and earnest consideration of the subjects which have reference to the well-being of the community.

"Unless ministers recognize this growing interest of women in the great civil questions of the day, they will lose the most earnest and active women from among their congregations, as they have already lost such men. But by dealing wisely and patriotically with such themes, ministers may do much to direct the thought of both men and women to the attainment of Good City Government."

Mrs. Thomas Kirkbride, of Philadelphia, made a few remarks endorsing the idea that women were essential to municipal reform.

Upon the conclusion of her remarks the Conference adjourned to meet on Friday, January 26, 1894, at 10 o'clock A. M.

Friday, January 26, 10 A. M.

MR. JAMES C. CARTER in the Chair.

Mr. Carter announced that the first paper would be read by Rev. Washington Gladden, D. D., of Columbus, Ohio, on "Influence upon Officials in Office."

Dr. Gladden read a paper on "Influences upon Officials in Office." (See *Appendix*).

Mr. Richardson, Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, then offered the following Resolution to the meeting :—

"Whereas, The elements brought together in this Conference should not be allowed to separate without providing some plan by which we can at some future time procure information and exchange views by a discussion of methods that imply confidence and sympathy, which add so much to the strength and enthusiasm of fellow workers in a great cause, it is therefore

"Resolved, That the President of this Conference is requested to appoint a committee of seven to prepare a plan for the organization of a National Municipal League, which shall be composed of associations formed in American cities, and have as an object the improvement of municipal government. Upon the completion of the plan and its approval by such associations, or as many of them as the said committee may deem necessary, the committee shall declare the proposed League fully organized and prepared to enter upon its work."

MR. GEORGE GLUYAS MERCER : "It is only fair to the local Committee to say that we prepared the Resolution before we heard the speech of Mr. Deming last evening, but we would be pleased to hear from him again."

MR. HORACE E. DEMING, of New York : "I do not feel a speech is necessary, especially as it seems to me that this Resolution carries its own story. I second this Resolution very heartily, and I hope it will pass unanimously. If passed, I shall then be glad to make a motion or recommendation to the committee when appointed, to arrange if possible for a meeting similar to this one, in time to anticipate the meeting of our State Constitutional Convention. It seems to me that such a meeting of representative citizens from all over the country, when New York is concerned mainly with municipal reform, with specific recommendations as to provisions to be introduced into a State constitution, would be very important, and it seems to me further, that both the time and the opportunity will be very apt at this moment."

MR. JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN, of Philadelphia : "I trust you will not consider it presumption on my part, but I would suggest that we recommend to this Committee that it embrace in

the organization proposed the women of America, exactly in the same manner that we do men. The educated women of America will be a potential power in reformation, whose influence we trust will be exerted not only by what they can say and do, but vote. In the future I hope we will, as an Association for reform, embrace them in all our movements, so that in another National Convention they will have a voice and vote on the floor.

"Before the motion is put, I beg to call attention to the fact that there is present a gentleman who is a member of the Constitutional Convention of New York. I do not know how far he feels prepared to say anything, but in view of what Mr. Deming said of the vast importance of the action to be taken, I think, if, before this resolution were put to vote, he could be induced to say whether the influence of such a discussion would be effective on that body, it would be appropriate."

MR. FREDERICK WILLIAM HOLLS, of New York: "I thank the Conference for this very kind invitation, and shall take only a moment of its valuable time to reply to Mr. Rosengarten's question. The suggestion of the gentleman from New York, Mr. Deming, that this Conference should meet again in time to give matured information and suggestions to the New York Constitutional Convention, strikes me as being excellent, and I trust that it will be acted upon favorably. It is to me a matter of sincere regret that I should be the only member of that Convention here present to listen to all the valuable papers and the interesting discussion of yesterday and this morning. It seems to me that if the other one hundred and seventy-four members would only have been here, more might have been done in the way of carrying out in practice the ideas of this Conference than in any other way. No man with honest intentions, and who happens to have the power to act, could come here and listen to the words of wisdom which we have heard without the conviction that something can be done, nor without vowing that something *shall* be done in New York for good city government this year. The gentleman from New York was right when calling attention to the fact that the New

York Constitutional Convention may, in all probability, build up a new commonwealth of three million inhabitants by the consolidation of New York, Brooklyn, Long Island City and Staten Island. Of course it would be improper for me to anticipate in any way the action of the Convention, but there can be no question of the importance of this opportunity for laying broad and deep the foundations of a good city government. Moreover, I suppose that no New Yorker could be blamed, after hearing the speeches of Brooklyn's Mayor, and of the representative of that city at this Conference yesterday, if he wished to annex that city to New York, and turn the influences for good, which have been so successful in Brooklyn, upon the corrupt politics of New York city. All these questions afford practical points for discussion to the members of this Conference, and in this connection I have one closing request to make. The Constitutional Convention at Albany will, undoubtedly, be overwhelmed with general suggestions, essays, and most excellent lectures on the evils to be remedied, and upon the general results to be obtained; but these are not the methods to secure effective action by the convention. What we want is proposed amendments to the Constitution in the exact words in which the proposers would like to see them adopted. If these words require further explanation or argument it will be easy to ask for such assistance, but generally this will be unnecessary. If the gentlemen here, from all parts of the United States, recognizing the fact that the work in New York will be of permanent importance to the whole country, will give some of their valuable time to thinking out the problems, and drawing some of the exact amendments which should be adopted, they will be conferring a favor, not only on the members of the convention, but upon the whole country."

Mr. Carter put the question on the Resolutions offered by Mr. Richardson, and they were carried unanimously.

Mr. Horace E. Deming offered the following Resolution, which was carried:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of this Conference that the

Committee, when appointed by the Chair, shall provide if possible for a subsequent and similar Conference in New York in order to bring influence to bear upon the approaching Constitutional Convention in that State."

MR. CARTER: "I take the liberty of recalling to your attention one of the many excellent thoughts in the address of Mr. Gladden, one of the many good things I shall carry away with me, and that is the importance and necessity of fair, just and honest criticism of our public servants, and also the importance of avoiding all unfair and hasty criticism, of which I think we have far too much. Let us form our opinion in reference to the character of public servants on the generous supposition that they mean to do their duty, until the contrary is shown, and treat them in that way. When they seem to be carrying out a just discharge of their duties, extend to them that recognition and praise which duty always deserves.

"Now we will give our attention to the next paper, which is by Mr. Edwin D. Mead of Boston."

Mr. Edwin D. Mead read a paper on "How to arouse Public Sentiment in favor of Good City Government by means of Education." (See *Appendix*).

MR. CARTER: "Ladies and gentlemen, there is a gentleman among us, who I am sorry to say finds it necessary to leave by to-day's train, and there has been a desire expressed to hear some thoughts of his upon the subject, and I am, therefore, inclined to waive the program for a few minutes, and introduce to you Dr. Henry Randall Waite, of New York."

DR. WAITE: "While I am deeply sensible of the courtesy extended me, I hardly feel that I am warranted, even for a few minutes, in interfering with your program, but I cannot refuse to testify at least to my great appreciation of the work which is being undertaken and accomplished by these Municipal Leagues.

"Eight years ago, when I became interested in a large work of education in the direction of public uplifting toward better ideals in government and citizenship, a gentleman banteringly

said, 'Like the fox in the fable, you will spend your strength in vain; you will die of hunger before you reach the grapes you seek.' It is too true that there has been, and is, a large degree of apathy on the part of the best people—and I use this term only as having reference to thinking and well-meaning people—as to questions concerning the public welfare. Eight years since there was established the American Institute of Civics, of which I have the honor to be President. This National Institution has sought, with some degree of success, to accomplish work along these lines, and I am glad to have the pleasure of listening to such words as were spoken by our last speaker (Mr. Mead) in regard to the importance of right work in our Public Schools. Undoubtedly we may do something in the present generation toward accomplishing the reforms we find necessary; but the apathy resting upon the people, to whatever cause it may be attributed, retards every movement in the direction toward which we are so earnestly and anxiously looking; and we can not altogether remove this hindrance in our day. It is an inheritance coming to us out of the past, as the result of neglected opportunities and duties.

"Many of us can bear witness to the fact that education in past years has not done what it ought in the way of furnishing the special equipments necessary to good citizenship, however successfully it has developed the abilities which enable men to become successful merely as bread winners and in selfish pursuits. I think that you will agree with me that it is essential, if we are to have good citizens, that we shall have specific intelligence as to civic duties and, underneath all, right character.

"Character is to be regarded not only as an inheritance from good parentage, but also as a result of education. In the many instances in which it is not thus an inheritance, it is dependent chiefly upon education. Even when character is an inheritance, it is too often overweighted and dragged down in the midst of the untoward conditions of our day, so that instead of the continuity or ascendance which might be expected, we find it

descending. This is perhaps largely due to the growing complexity of social and business affairs, which prevents the attention to character building once given in the home. The schools are depended upon, in these busy times, to do the work which is not done otherwise or elsewhere, and upon them must more than ever be laid the responsibility of developing the right character, and other qualities in the citizen, from which we can alone expect the fruitage of good government.

"The institution which I represent seeks to introduce into educational work, as one of its chief aims, this idea of character building, accompanied by a definite purpose to equip our youth with proper intelligence and right views as to civic affairs. We believe that this fundamental work is essential to the highest success of the work represented by this Convention, and all other organizations devoted to similar noble objects. When we go from this meeting, I trust that we shall return to our different cities with a determination, in connection with all educational plans, to do what we can to make them a means for the reinforcement of character in the individual, and the promotion of adequate preparation for civic duties, thus seeking the realization of good government through good citizenship." (Applause.)

MR. CARTER: "Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have pleasure in introducing Rev. J. H. Ecob, D. D., of Albany, N. Y."

Dr. Ecob read a paper on "Arousing Public Sentiment in favor of Good City Government by means of the Churches." (See *Appendix*).

MR. WILLIAM G. LOW, of Brooklyn: "I feel that it is my duty to speak upon the motion which was passed in regard to the Committee arranging for a conference to be held before the approaching Convention in New York on Constitutional Reform. I would ask if such remarks are now in order?"

MR. CARTER: "It is in order to make observations."

MR. LOW: "I would not trespass, but I feel it is somewhat important to call the attention of the Conference to a possible effect of what I understand has been voted in regard to a meeting,

either of this Conference or of its Committee, avowedly in conjunction with our State Convention. I feel it my duty to bear witness that there is no State in the Union more jealous of any interference in its internal affairs than New York. I give an illustration. You will remember that, some dozen or fifteen years ago, there were nominated, as candidates for Governor, Judge Folger and Grover Cleveland. There was a great disturbance and great dissatisfaction in the ranks of the Republican party with the methods by which Judge Folger was nominated, and largely a great dissatisfaction that his nomination was caused by Senatorial influence from Washington. Everybody thought highly of Judge Folger, but the citizens of New York would not stand it. I can speak of this matter because I was in it. I had the experience of being caught by my father and marched in to tell Judge Folger why we were dissatisfied. I had to tell him that New York State did not like any interference, that we wanted to elect our Governor for ourselves, and the citizens endorsed that sentiment by 192,000 majority, the largest ever given in the annals of our State.

"I do not feel that our Conference should meet there in connection with that convention, unless we can sit there and observe what is going on, and then, if it is asked for, present any suggestion. I do think we may do harm by merely meeting there. It is a subject for fair consideration and sound judgment. We have got not only to get reforms adopted by that Convention, but the work of the Convention must be adopted by the citizens of New York State in an election, and I feel, as one who is sincerely desirous to get as many reforms into that Constitution as possible, we want to make no attempts as to what may appear a shadow of interference.

"If such a meeting be understood as merely for observation of what is done there and becoming better acquainted with all phases of reform, that would be different. I merely felt it my duty to get up and call attention to the possible danger that may follow a resolution on the part of this Conference."

MR. CARTER : "The observation which Mr. Low has made may well be taken into consideration. There is a natural disinclination on the part of any State to have its own deliberations influenced by those who do not belong within its own limits. That is but natural. Good men will not, of course, reject intelligent advice and intelligent opinion, come from what quarter it may, but it may give an opportunity to those who are not inclined to favor municipal reform to say that these suggestions came from a source which they do represent, and it was an intrusion on the part of others to give advice. I do not understand that the resolution passed makes it the duty of this Committee to call a conference in New York before the time arrives, but only to take it into consideration."

MR. DEMING : "Allow me to add by way of explanation, there was no intention in that resolution that we should force our ideas on that Convention. We thought that the experience of men from all over the country would have great weight, not that we should recommend to the Constitutional Convention a universal panacea, but rather that the members of that Constitutional Convention should have the benefit of the mature, deliberate judgment of those who have made it a study."

MR. CARTER : "The Committee will take this into consideration and balance the advantage of such a conference with the disadvantages."

A DELEGATE : "If we go up to that Convention with a lot of recommendations, ninety per cent. would say where did they come from? where did you get these resolutions? The answer would be, they came from Maryland, Pennsylvania, Illinois and various places. I think, gentlemen and ladies, that it would be much better that no such meeting should be held at that time. There is another question, and that is in deciding to go to that meeting and deciding that such a meeting will be held; it will be passed here by a convention of people who do not live in New York. I move that this question be referred to the New York

delegates, to meet immediately upon the adjournment of this session and report at the meeting at three o'clock."

REV. J. H. ECOB, D. D. : "I hope sincerely that that motion will not prevail. We hope to capture that Convention for Albany, so we expect to see a good deal of it, and may I be pardoned for saying that my life has been spent in Albany, and I have had some experience with conventions and politicians generally, and the average political convention needs a vast deal of instruction. I believe there is enough good sense and enough common patriotism in the State of New York to say we want that Convention carried up to the very highest point of efficiency by any means and all means."

A DELEGATE : "There ought to be a distinction drawn between the case presented to us by Mr. Low and the possible meeting in New York as proposed. The sentiment excited, as referred to by Mr. Low, was obvious political dictation. It seems to me that the meeting, if guided with ordinary discretion, would not be open to that interpretation."

MR. THOMAS G. SHEARMAN, of Brooklyn : "If there is one thing I do despise it is this division between citizens of one common country (Applause). I have resided in New York State for fifty years, never expect to live in any other State, and there has never been a time, I am glad to say, since I was able to think on political questions, when I have not been glad to receive advice and suggestions from citizens of other States, and the best ideas in our politics have come from citizens of other States. I recollect, a little more than twenty years ago, when one of our best Governors, John T. Hoffman, was called upon to appoint a commission to revise the tax laws, he selected David Wells of Connecticut, on that committee, and it was one of the most intelligent reports ever presented. I will concede to the gentlemen that it was not adopted, but then no recommendation of any tax commission was ever taken notice of. The ideas furnished by Mr. Wells were the only sensible ones ever adopted, and some of us are carrying them on now, and there is a bill now pending

before the New York Legislature which really looks in that direction.

"I do not think the citizens of New York are either so conceited that they do not need advice, or so sensitive on account of their State being so small, they will be over-ridden by States like New Jersey and Delaware. We can take good advice from other people. I think the wording of the Resolution, as Mr. Deming has stated it, is wise and proper and leaves discretion enough. For myself, as a citizen of New York, I rejoice in getting advice from any quarter of the Union. Am glad to have advice from Baltimore, Texas and California, or any part of the country. Surely we are not going to be divided by State lines. I am a State-rights man; I do not believe we can form one solid republic without separating it in pieces. I regard every man, every citizen of the United States from Maine to Georgia and from New York to California, North, South, East and West, as having common rights with me—the common right of family advice. He has the same right to advise me about my affairs as my brother on family affairs; not dictating, but to give suggestions. I should be extremely sorry if the impression went out to the ninety per cent. who are non New Yorker, that we were sensitive if suggestions were offered us in a wise, loving spirit by our fellow citizens in any part of the Union. (Applause).

A DELEGATE: "As I understand it, it was not the intention of Mr. Deming that the meeting should be held at the same time, but between now and the meeting of that Convention. As a delegate from New York, I am glad to add my voice in favor of such action. There is a decided difference between the suggestions made by a convention of people working solely, without any suspicion of anything else than the public good, and suggestions coming from an administration at Washington as to the management of the affairs of the State. The distinction is great, and the State might well take exception to the one and be grateful to the other.

"In closing, I want to add that it is my privilege to know a

number of the members of the proposed convention, and I am sure that at any rate all of the gentlemen whom I have the pleasure of knowing will receive the suggestions gladly, and will be glad to profit by them and use them. It seems to me that it is still further true that this sort of thing is in the air now, and there never was a day riper for suggestions on the Constitution of our State, which we all know we need. We need a new Constitution tremendously, particularly as it pertains to the government of our cities, and everything we can do we ought to do gladly. I would call for the reading of the Resolution."

Secretary Woodruff read the Resolution, and Mr. Deming said it was not worded exactly as he wished, and asked permission to re-frame it, which request was granted by the Chair.

The following Resolution was offered by Mr. Deming :

"Resolved, That it is the sense of this Conference that the Committee when appointed by the Chair, take into consideration the advisability of calling a similar conference to be held in New York in anticipation of the approaching Constitutional Convention in that State, such conference to be held in advance of the Constitutional Convention."

Mr. Deming then moved for a reconsideration of the motion previously adopted. Carried.

A DELEGATE from Pennsylvania: "As the object of the whole motion is well understood by us, why should we not pass a resolution that a conference similar to this be held in some city of New York, between now and the first of April, and leave it there? I said the first of April to leave a month for the gentlemen of the approaching Convention to consider the matter.

The Resolution was again read.

Rev. Joseph May, of Philadelphia, offered the following amendment :

"That they consider the advisability of holding a conference similar to the present one, in some city of New York, previous to the first of April." Seconded.

Mr. Shearman moved the following amendment :

"Resolved, That this Conference request the Committee when appointed by the Chair to consider the advisability of calling a further conference at some place in the State of New York, before the first of May next."

MR. MAY: "I see no difference, except the date. I accept the amendment, except as to the date."

MR. SHEARMAN: "I want to leave it to the discretion of the Committee to decide whether it shall be called."

MR. MAY: "I accept it, and I think the Committee will decide wisely."

MR. RHOADES: "It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that we should proceed in this matter with a great deal of caution. There is quite a trite saying that we all know: 'Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves.' What I fear is, that if we should hold the Conference in New York prior to the meeting of that Convention, and if, as a result of that Conference, the Convention would take hold of the suggestions made at the Conference and embody them in the proposed amendments to the Constitution of that State, the political opponents of the Convention itself might say that they had bowed to the will of a Conference held in New York.

"I am, as you know, fully in favor and thoroughly in heart in this movement. I do believe a great deal could be gained by a Conference so held in many directions, but as I see it from my standpoint, I think it is far wiser that that resolution should stand as it is now proposed by Mr. Deming. I think in the hands of that Committee it is safer than to have the Committee particularly instructed."

The Chairman put the question on the resolution of Mr. Deming, and it was carried.

The question was then put on the adoption of the resolution as amended by Mr. Shearman.

Mr. Charles W. Birtwell, of Boston, offered the following amendment:—

"Resolved, That the motion be made to read 'time and

place of such Conference to be left to the discretion of this Committee.' "

Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, of Philadelphia, seconded this amendment for the reason that the President of the Board of Trade in Minneapolis wished to have a Conference in that city, and that the Committee should be in a position to give a hearing to the arguments of that gentlemen.

The Chairman then put the motion as follows :—

"*Resolved*, That this Conference requests the Committee, when appointed, to consider the advisability of calling a further conference at some time and place to be determined by them."

Carried.

REV. DR. WM. H. ROBERTS, delegate from the Presbytery of Philadelphia : "How can the interest of the religious masses in Christian churches be brought to bear for the securing of Municipal Reform? I will indicate two things.

"*First*.—You must separate Municipal from National questions in politics.

"*Second*.—There must be continuous recognition of the fact that it is fundamental to the Protestantism which is dominant in the Evangelical Churches, that the peculiar power in matters political, formerly vested in the Clergy, has been taken away from both priest and minister. You will never get the masses of men in the Evangelical Churches to follow their preachers in political questions. Not because they have not confidence in their preachers, but because three centuries of training in politics have shown them the value of the principle, that the hands of the Church should be kept off from the affairs of the State.. Evangelical ministers will never take the position of the Roman Catholic priest and say, 'I can swing 40,000 that way.' Ministers will reason from the pulpit upon questions of reform, if true to the principles they believe, but the people will insist that ministers shall confine themselves, as a rule, to the advocacy of principles, because in the providence of God there are other men belonging to the laity, thoroughly imbued with the Christian

spirit, who can take up and manage the practical side of such issues.

"When the day comes that it is desired to direct against some evil the power concentrated in the Christian Churches, while every Christian pulpit should thunder forth on the side of righteousness, and while, without exception, Christian ministers of every denomination will be ready to bear their part in a reform campaign, you will be able to secure practical results only through placing the movement in the hands of Christian laymen; of men who are intensely practical."

A DELEGATE from Boston: "The question of law is represented by the policemen. People judge of law by what they see of the policemen. I am not here to decry or defame the police. What I want to urge is our responsibility for the present influence, the personal influence we can bring to bear on the police.

"We must remember that his whole life and his whole career brings him in contact with the dregs of society, with the keeper of the saloon, with the gambling hell, and that they are not in touch with the best people. I can assure you that policemen ought to be treated differently by our citizens. They ought to be made to feel that they have relations with our good people. The people who have illicit forms of trade bring their influence to bear on the police, and it drags them down.

"In Massachusetts we now have provisional officers who are not to arrest, but watch the men and see what can be done for them. You should see some of these men when they are brought in to report; when arrested, they were drunken, repulsive, filthy and in rags, but now they are respectable and clean, and the policeman shows them with pride.

"In our police department in Boston, we have a lady on the police force. The atmosphere of the Court has been changed by having the influence of a refined woman in that place. The police take their lives in their hands day by day, and yet they are continually burlesqued and made fun of on the stage and by the comic papers. They need encouragement and sympathy."

MR. EDWIN D. MEAD, of Boston: "No Massachusetts man can bear to have Massachusetts praised too much. I made the remark that Massachusetts had, five years ago, more than one half of the public libraries in the world. I was thinking of the world of our American democracy, and my reference was simply to this country."

REV. W. I. NICHOLS, of Philadelphia: "In reference to the part which ministers have in good government, I wish to say, that I believe it is one of the causes of the declining power of our churches, whether evangelical or other, that they do not take a more active part in politics. I insist it does belong to them, and they are not disqualified. I maintain it is a duty this conference should impress upon the ministers that they should use their opportunities."

MR. JOSEPH A. MILLER, of Providence, R. I.: "I feel very much interested in the papers which have been read here, and feel much embarrassed as to how I should communicate to my people, when I return, all the good things and good work which have been done. I would like to move that a committee be appointed to see to the printing and dissemination of the papers which have been read here. People all over the country ought to be able to read the information we have received here, and I know positively, from the work we have been doing in Providence, that the printing press is a valuable factor and should be extensively used. I move that some step shall be taken by which these papers may be preserved. I do not believe so much information has been given in the same time anywhere as we have received yesterday and to-day and they should not lie still born. The organizations have come here to the great home of Liberty, and the child has been born yesterday; let the child go out and effect the regeneration of our municipal government. I move the Chair appoint a committee who shall take charge of the matter, and see to the publishing and distribution of the papers which have been read before this Conference."

MR. CARTER: "Provision has been made for a committee to whom to refer these matters."

MR. MILLER : " If this Committee would put itself into communication with the various organizations in the country, let them send in their portion. We are willing to carry our share of the expense ; we must bear our burden equally, and by making this a national issue we shall have not only national interests, but national duties. I think there is one thing in this question that is of the highest importance, and that is duties. Yesterday there were remarks made about Germany, and I was sorry they were not carried a little further. It seems strange to us Americans that in Russia and Germany there should be laws that, when a man is nominated and elected to office, he must perform the duty of the office, and if he does not perform that duty he loses his franchise and right to vote and is taxed to an amount double the regular tax assessed on his property. I think that is perfectly right. He ought to have duties. What right have we to go to the lower classes and ask them to rule us? We do this constantly.

" In our city we have no fault to find with the poorer classes. They vote regularly ; they used to vote often. They are ready to accept any office, and, in fact, they would run the Government for us. The fault we have to find is with the better classes, with the wealthy class ; it is our better and wealthier classes that are at fault. They do not go to the polls. I hope the better classes can also be reformed ; in fact, they need reforming. It is the better classes we must reform ; it is the better classes we want to put right.

" I should like to see a law passed, by which every man should be compelled to vote, or go before some justice of the peace or sheriff and show good reasons why he should not vote, or be fined."

Mr. Carter put the question on Mr. Miller's motion.

MR. CHARLES RICHARDSON, of Philadelphia : " The Committee on arrangements have secured copies of all the papers, and they expect to publish all the matter themselves, but of course they would be very glad to have the assistance of a national organization when it is formed. I think it would be better to

refer it to the Executive Committee of the National Reform Association."

MR. BIRTWELL: "May I move an amendment? The proper action would be to the effect that we learn with the greatest satisfaction that our Philadelphia League is going to publish these proceedings, instead of moving resolutions; it seems to me it would be proper for us to vote against this motion."

The motion was then put by the Chairman and lost.

A motion to reconsider was carried.

The question being put to the Conference, the motion was laid on the table.

The Conference then adjourned to meet at 3 o'clock.

Afternoon Session, 3 P. M., January 26, 1894.

MR. JAMES C. CARTER in the chair :—

"*Ladies and Gentlemen*, We are now to give our attention to some thoughts in reference to the manner in which we are to bring public sentiment to bear upon the choice of good public officials, and the first paper will be the paper that takes the view that it is *through the primaries*, by Mr. Alfred Bishop Mason, of New York."

Mr. Alfred Bishop Mason delivered an address on "How to Bring Public Sentiment to bear upon the Choice of Good Public Officials through the Primaries." (See *Appendix*).

MR. CARTER: "I regret to say that Mr. Capen, of Boston, who was to read the next paper, is not able to be present, but he has a friend here who will read it for him, Rev. F. B. Allen, of Boston."

Mr. Allen then proceeded to read Mr. Samuel B. Capen's paper on "How to Bring Public Sentiment to bear upon the Choice of Good Public Officials by Means of Selection from the Candidates of the Regular Parties, and by Means of the Occasional Nomination of Independent Candidates." (See *Appendix*).

MR. CARTER: "The last paper to be read this afternoon is one by Mr. Charles Richardson, of Philadelphia, taking the view that our salvation is to be accomplished by permanent Municipal Parties."

Mr. Charles Richardson read a paper on "Permanent Municipal Parties." (See *Appendix*).

Mr. Carter then announced that, the papers having been read, the balance of the time would be devoted to debate under the five-minute rule.

Mr. George G. Wright, of Cambridge, Mass., read a portion of his paper on "Municipal Government in Cambridge," and was given leave to print the balance. (See *Appendix*).

MR. JOHN GRAHAM, of New York: "I am one of the great tide of emigrants. For twenty years I was a citizen of Manchester, England. The mayor of that city, whatever political power is in force, is always a representative citizen—manufacturer, merchant or philanthropist—and may be fairly looked to as an example of virtue. Each department is in the hands of a skilled man, depending on good work and skill to keep the position; although the mayor changes, these heads of departments remain permanently.

"A few years ago I came to the United States, and as my duty was, I presented myself at the City Hall, because it was a cardinal article of my creed that no man had a right to pitch his tent and make his home in a new land unless he was ready to submit himself to the duties of citizenship in that land. I went up to the City Hall, and I had put into my hands a large roll. I said, 'Will you be kind enough to read it?' The man read it out with the richest kind of a brogue. I took my medicine as I had a right to.

"I had been brought up with the belief that the cradle of American liberty was the primary, and with the idea of a stranger I wanted to see the cradle of the primary. I made an investigation. In the city of New York, in the year 1884, the Democratic party consisted of three wings, and the Republicans were undi-

vided. I made an investigation and got first to know the number of primaries. In one election district they consisted of 1002. Where were they held? Just in the place where they ought not to be held—633 were held in liquor saloons; 86 in rooms immediately adjoining to and communicating with the liquor store; total, 719; therefore, of the 1002, there remained the comparatively small number of 283 which were held in independent places. The primary in the saloon, the 'boss' over that primary meeting, the saloon-keeper, and that is why there is a vast voting force of 40,000 all told, which is held and swayed by the liquor dealer of New York.

"During the present year I had a curiosity to know something of the sociological circumstances, therefore the political conditions, of certain sections of the city of New York. It took four months to carry out that investigation. First, we had women visit every house in the district lying between Fifth and Grand Streets, and the total number of inhabitants was 55,357. First, I may say, these ladies had a schedule, and on it was put the name of the street, the number of the house, the name of the father mother, sons, daughters and lodgers of that family; to what nationality they belonged, how many rooms they lived in, what amount of rent was paid, whether the man worked on Sunday or not, how many hours a day he worked, whether he belonged to any church, whether he was sober, whether his house was a thrifty house.

"I thought we might get replies to fifty per cent.; we got replies to ninety-five per cent.; 27,090 were Jews, Russian or German, who, when our ladies went to see them, could not understand each other. The ones that invariably made it possible for these American women to communicate with these strange people were the children who were being brought up in the public schools. The children were the interpreters between father and mother and the people who went to carry out the investigation.

"One of the grave difficulties that I had never met with in my previous experience, and which, I think, is found in greater

measure in New York than in any other city in the world, is that all other cities are homogeneous in their population, New York is heterogeneous. It is one of the grave problems, it seems to me, that lies before the Municipal League of the city of New York, how to get at the intelligence and conscience of the great mass of uninstructed opinion which casts its Irish vote, German vote, or Jewish vote. The idea for the future is there should be an elimination of the Irish, German and Jewish votes according to these names, and if in God's providence there comes a day when we shall see them as one, when they shall be cast in the one grand American vote, there may be a chance for the great cities of the United States, overcrowded and overloaded as they are, to aim at such honest and effective clean city government as is to be found in large cities across the water.

"In the city of Birmingham, England, the man who was for long years head of the municipality, is the man who has now achieved great international notoriety by marrying an American wife. Mr. Chamberlain found the condition of Birmingham evil. There was a large mass of property in the centre of the city covering seven acres, crowded with rookeries of so bad a kind that it was impossible to deal with it except by buying the whole area. This was done; they cleared away every one of the rookeries, built clean, decent houses and wide streets through the centre. That has been an experiment extending over sixteen years, and there has not been a suggestion that, in dealing with that mass of money, one dollar has clung to the men who administered that trust. As Americans are precisely the same blood, if it can be done in Manchester and Birmingham, why can it not be done in New York and Philadelphia?"

MR. CHARLES RICHARDSON: "I would like to say that you probably remember that we all regretted Mr. Butler, of Milwaukee, was not allowed time to finish his address, and I would move that he be allowed ten minutes to represent his case."

This motion was carried and Mr. Butler took the floor, and completed the reading of his paper. (See *Appendix*).

MR. DEMING : " I have been requested to offer a Resolution as an expression of sentiment that every municipal reformer can advocate everywhere, in every city in this country. It is as follows : "

"Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Conference, it is vital to the attainment of good municipal government that national politics should be divorced from city elections and the administration of city affairs.

This Resolution was unanimously adopted.

MR. LA SALLE A. MAYNARD, of New Rochelle, N. Y. : " I am a member of a Citizens League of New Rochelle, and we have this difficulty to contend with which has not been mentioned, and it is a difficulty which comes about in our idea of free and universal suffrage. It so happens in certain wards it is impossible to get a good candidate because the majority of the people don't want a good candidate. Perhaps the remedy would be to move out of the county. I know some things about New York candidates ; it would be impossible to get a decent candidate for that portion of the city lying below Fourteenth Street, for the reason that the majority of the people don't want a good candidate. Take Silver Dollar Smith's district for example.

" In our school election, which we have every year, there is a property qualification ; no man can vote unless he is a property holder, and to a certain extent as a result our school board is composed of the best citizens of the village ; we have the best men, honorable citizens and tax-payers. In our Board of City Trusts it so happens that a majority are those who do not own a cent of property, and yet vote the taxes on the rest of us. It would be well to consider this qualification for suffrage. It is galling to me, as a tax-payer, to be put under the thumb of a man who is little better than a tramp. I can not find any reason or any argument that can justify such a condition of things as that, and under the system of laws we have in our State, I don't see how you are going to get rid of some of these evils. What good would it do in New York City to put up good men ? You could not elect them.

These reforms are run up against that practical suggestion, and I rest the point here."

MR. CHARLES J. BONAPARTE; "I have been requested to offer a resolution intended to give an opportunity for an object-lesson in municipal government, or in one of the principles of municipal government as pledged by this conference; it is that principle that, however excellent may be the character of an executive, or indeed of any other office, however thoroughly his past may lead us to trust his action in the future, we must not neglect, when we are going to entrust him with a new duty, any protection so as to give him every motive to perform it to his very best ability. Now I entrusted the Chairman of this Conference with the duty of appointing a committee that will have responsible and onerous duties, and in order that he may have every motive to give us as good a committee as possible, I move that he be himself a member of that committee, and therefore responsible for its work.

"I have been asked to embody in my motion the further provision that, when we have thus safe-guarded the committee against the possible intrusion of undesirable characters, we authorize it to add to its own number in its discretion."

This motion was unanimously adopted.

MR. J. H. C. NEVIUS, of New York: "I live in New York, and while I don't live below Fourteenth Street, I want to tell all present that there are good government clubs being organized in New York below Fourteenth Street. I want to give voice to my belief that there is a better element of citizenship in the district below Fourteenth Street than it gets credit for. It is true, if you are going to go by the election returns for the last many years below Fourteenth Street, we would not have much to be proud of, but I think it is true, it is a fact, that many will endorse, that there is a very large voting element there that needs this education of which we have heard so much; whose hearts are all right, whose daily life is good, perhaps better or as good as the average of those whose means are better, and who have homes further up

town. They know nothing better, and are familiar with the 'Boss' idea as the American idea. They have their actions ruled by it because, I am sorry to say, that in our city our 'Bosses' touch very closely all classes of society, but they touch the poor man most closely. A man can keep his goods on the sidewalk if he votes Tammany Hall; if he don't he can not. He lives in daily fear of Tammany Hall, and he votes as he lives. It seems to me that if we can educate these people, if we can touch these people, perhaps the day is coming when the people are the boss of Tammany Hall and you will hear of a different vote in New York.

"I represent a Good Government Club. We are very young. It is only a few months since we were organized, but we have succeeded in interesting our neighbors very largely. In our work in the last campaign we had a house-to-house canvass. We knew how every one would vote; we knew how they all felt. In an Assembly District which the year before elected Democrats to the Assembly and Tammany Hall men by a majority of 1100, the candidate selected by the Good Government Club was elected by a majority of something over 1900. We propose to continue our good work; we propose to educate our own membership; we propose to have talks from the reformers. If the committee asks you to speak to the Good Government Club we hope you will not refuse, because we want to teach our people their duties, and want them to go as missionaries down to and below Fourteenth Street and aid in the thorough work being done there."

MR. JOHN HARSEN RHOADES, of New York: "I have two resolutions to offer; before doing so I desire to say a few words. The gentleman who has just addressed you has referred to the poorer classes of New York, and in doing so has brought to mind the statement made a few years since by Prof. Hart, of Cambridge, Mass., in an address given by him on the "Problem of Great Cities," in the course of which he said that the statistics showed that in the city of New York, only one man in seven, over thirty years of age, was a native-born American. If this be true, and

the authority is of the best, how can we longer question the cause of the difficulty there found, in bringing about an era of reform. Then again the speaker has said that he 'found the poor people living below 14th Street much better than they are generally supposed to be. I have often thought the same, and believe there is as much, if not more, of the real essence of Christianity practiced below 14th Street and over the area which covers one of the great tenement districts in our population, than exists in an equal area devoted to the residences of what is wrongly called the "better classes." I say this because the almost universal testimony of those who work among the poor is to the effect that as a class, they are honest, kind, generous and considerate toward each other. Most of them make good fathers and mothers, while the family tie is strong, and unselfish devotion to the needs of each largely characterizes their lives.

"One of the great difficulties we all have to contend with in our efforts to bring about reform is the influence of the Saloon upon the politics of both, and in fact of all parties. Let me say to you, my friends, that you can never destroy that influence until you have given to the laboring classes something to take its place. Day by day the laborer goes to his toil, returning home after a hard day's work, generally to a poor, ill-ventilated, unattractive tenement, often with scant fare upon the table, his wife worn out with ceaseless work, and nothing to attract and give him the social enjoyment for which every human being craves. He has no place of amusement to which with his limited means he can take his family for an hour's relaxation, and so in his longing for companionship he seeks the corner saloon, where he is sure to meet congenial spirits, and this place in time to him becomes his club. How can we censure such a man, if with the influences which there surround him, he is led in his ignorance a willing victim on the day of election to side with those forces in our body politic which tend to vice and corruption.

"And now before we part there yet remains to me the sweet privilege of saying, on behalf of the delegates to this Conference,

to those who have been our generous hosts, how much we have enjoyed their hospitality and the courtesies extended to us. On a pilgrimage we came to this city of Brotherly Love, to attest our loyalty to our country and to the cause of reform, and lo! the oracles have spoken and we are filled with the wisdom of the gods, and have quenched our thirst from a stream of knowledge so pure it must have found its source in Heaven. It is a sad word to say "Farewell" and I say not to thee "Farewell," but "Fare-thee-well until we meet again." (Applause.)

"And what shall I say to you my comrades and members of all Reform Leagues here represented, but to bid you one and all to take fresh courage from what we have heard and learned. Keep your signal fires bright and burning. Let the drum tap of preparation be ever heard in your camps. Sound it in the halls of legislation that those who rule may heed the warning; sound it in the halls of justice that the laws may be enforced; sound it in the haunts of corruption that the evil-doer may know that the hour of justice is at hand; sound it in the churches that they may become your allies; sound it in the schools that the youth may be made ready to battle for the right; sound it in the homes of the people that the mother may teach the child and bid the father and the son gird themselves for the conflict; sound it on the house-tops and in the streets; and sound it upon the hills and in the valleys all over our dear native land; in victory be not exultant; in defeat be not cast down; but ever in victory or in defeat let the drum beat sound the note of preparation, and then at last there will come a day when the tramp as of an armed host will be heard all over the land and the spirit of that glorious song of long ago will fill the air: "Rally round the flag, boys, rally once again," and though the shots which will be fired in that great battle will be as silent as the air but thick as the flakes of falling snow, each shall be counted, and when the same has been told, it will carry tidings to all the world that America has again proven the truth that her people can govern wisely and well without the aid of King or Emperor backed by the bayonets of a

servile host. Be brave, be strong, be faithful, be true, fight on, and fight to the end. Behold! the Lord of Hosts is on our side, the God of battles will defend the right. (Applause.)

"Now, ladies and gentlemen, I beg to offer the following Resolutions:—

"Resolved, That the thanks of this Conference are due and most cordially tendered to the members of the Municipal League of Philadelphia for the welcome they have given and the hospitality so generously extended to the visiting delegates and friends.

"Resolved, That we join with them in extending our thanks and congratulations to those who are our guests by their presence at this Conference, and the admirable addresses given have contributed alike to our enjoyment and success in this Conference and education of the public upon the subject of reform in the government of municipalities throughout the country."

These resolutions were unanimously adopted.

MR. CARTER: "If any of you have thought, and you must all have thought, that papers of great excellence have been read, and these proceedings have been conducted in a manner extremely edifying to us all, it is attributable to the admirable foresight and judgment by which the proceedings were arranged by our Philadelphia friends. For their kindness and hospitality in all other directions they have kept up the good name of the city.

MR. STUART WOOD: "I wish to offer a resolution which I will take the privilege of putting to the audience myself. I think, Mr. Chairman, that we all unite in a feeling of deep indebtedness to you, sir, for your presence here as Chairman of this Conference; that we all recognize that it has added dignity and weight to these meetings, while it has also afforded to those in attendance the utmost pleasure to listen to the exquisite language and the noble thoughts which we have heard from your lips.

"Resolved, That this meeting thank the Chairman for his valuable services and for his courtesy in presiding over these meetings."

This resolution was passed unanimously.

MR. CARTER: "Ladies and gentlemen, I feel very grateful, very profoundly so, for the kindness thus extended to me. My visit to Philadelphia upon this occasion, which I did not know at first I should be able to make, and which I was obliged to make at some little sacrifice, has been a delight to me. I have never attended an assemblage of ladies and gentlemen in a good cause that was fraught with so much pleasure and profit to myself. I have renewed within me that devotion to this cause which I have had for a number of years, and I shall feel as if I should look back to those with whom I am associated better able to render such assistance as I can and give them much better advice than I could otherwise have done. I thank you very much. (Applause.)

"There is five minutes which remains before the time of our adjournment, and there was a lady who was endeavoring to catch my eye, and that five minutes is at her disposal."

MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER, of Iowa: "It is with great pleasure that I find myself here to-day, and I thank you for the courtesy of the last five minutes, but you know a woman always has the last word anyhow.

"I came over this morning with some ladies from Brooklyn, of whom you heard the Mayor of Brooklyn speak yesterday, who assisted him greatly in his efforts, or rather the men who put him into office. The burden of my heart is this: however much you may effect changes and perfect methods of municipal reform, nothing can take the place of character and patriotism in the average citizen. (Applause.) The finest machine that was displayed at the great exposition in Chicago recently was absolutely powerless without force. The steam that makes any machine, civic or political, go is the steam that is generated in the home. If gentlemen who are waiting for municipal reform have not reached that conclusion, they are not qualified to sit upon affairs of state.

"It is the American home at which is born patriotism, which is the force which must move in municipal politics. Where is this force which is generated in the home born? It is in religious

conviction that in this matter must be coupled with what stands for religious conviction, the Church of Christ.

"The Church must be conscience for the State, not Church and State, but the Church the conscience to make the State Government righteous. I would have every member of the Church of Christ doing his work as a citizen. I would have ministers go with their prayer meetings, if necessary, into political caucuses, but not to command them to vote so and so.

"I do not think Municipal Leagues should have political candidates. Let them be a power on the side of the best man. It is better to raise the whole people an inch, than it is to raise a few people a mile. It is only the repose of faith and the courage of absolute assurance in the final dominance of righteousness that can ever make a man or woman a true reformer. When you say divorce Municipal politics from National politics, I say yes, that is all right, but yet is it all right? Nobody has touched the core of the question. A municipality is the creation of some other power. It is the creation of the State. The State is not an aggregation of municipalities, the State was first. The State was first and it created municipalities, therefore the municipality, being the creature of the State, is merely empowered with certain rights and privileges from the State; but national politics are controlled by two great trains of ideas, and these will come to the municipalities, it is impossible to do otherwise. But courage, courage, gentlemen, we will hang on, we will hang on to your car of reform, and by and by we will ride on the front seat with you." (Applause.)

Adjourned *sine die*.

CALL FOR THE CONFERENCE

AND

ENDORSEMENT.

THE MUNICIPAL LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA.

PHILADELPHIA, December 29, 1893.

DEAR SIR:—The MUNICIPAL LEAGUE of Philadelphia, with the co-operation of the CITY CLUB of New York, has decided to issue a call for a NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT, to be held in Philadelphia on the 25th and 26th days of January, 1894.

The Principal objects of the Conference will be to determine, so far as is possible by inquiry and debate, the best means for stimulating and increasing the rapidly growing demand for honest and intelligent government in American cities, and to discuss the best methods for combining and organizing the friends of Reform so that their united strength may be made effective.

The programme for the papers and discussions, as at present outlined (subject to possible changes), is as follows:

First.—A brief summary of existing conditions in different cities, and a description of Municipal Government and Municipal Officials as they ought to be.

Second.—Methods for obtaining better Government without resorting to the nomination or support of independent candidates.

Third.—Methods that involve the nomination or support of independent candidates.

Further details will be mailed hereafter to those proposing to attend.

You are respectfully invited to be present at the meetings and to take part in the discussions. It is believed that by attending this Conference, those who realize the vast importance of the problems to be discussed will accomplish much in arousing public interest, in raising the popular standards of political morality, and in securing for the advocates of Municipal Reform that feeling of brotherhood and co-operation and that unity of action and methods, which will multiply their strength and enthusiasm, and inspire the people with the hope and confidence essential to final success.

If you are an officer of any association of voters, which has for one of its objects the improvement of Municipal Government or the proper management of City affairs, we shall be greatly obliged if you will at once do whatever may be necessary to extend this invitation to such organization, and procure the appointment of delegates to attend the Conference. It is

our desire to have copies of this letter sent to the secretaries of all associations of a kindred character in the United States, but there may be many whose addresses are unknown to us, and we shall, therefore, be very glad to receive any that you can furnish.

An early response is specially requested, as our time for preparation is brief. Letters may be directed to the Corresponding Secretary of the League—Clinton Rogers Woodruff, 514 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Very respectfully,

CHARLES RICHARDSON,
STUART WOOD,
GEORGE BURNHAM, JR.,
S. D. MCCONNELL,
EDMUND J. JAMES,
WILLIAM I. NICHOLS,
JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN,

FRANCIS B. REEVES,
W. M. SALTER,
HERBERT WELSH,
CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF,
THOMAS MARTINDALE,
GEORGE GLUYAS MERCER,
R. FRANCIS WOOD,
Committee of Arrangements.

EDMOND KELLEY,
JOHN HARSEN RHOADES,
R. FULTON CUTTING,
Committee of City Club of New York.

We desire to express our cordial approval of the call issued by the Municipal League of Philadelphia for a National Conference for Good City Government, to be held in Philadelphia on the 25th and 26th days of January, 1894. Appreciating the vital importance, as well as the difficult nature, of the problems to be discussed, we sincerely hope that those who have given particular attention to such subjects will make special efforts to attend the Conference.

James C. Carter, President of the City Club of New York.
Edmond Kelly, Secretary of the City Club of New York.

Charles Francis Adams, Boston.	R. W. Gilder, New York.
Theo. Roosevelt, Washington, D. C.	Carl Schurz, New York.
Richard H. Dana, Boston.	Charles W. Eliot, Cambridge, Mass.
Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore, Md.	Abram S. Hewitt, New York.
Henry C. Lea, Philadelphia.	Lyman J. Gage, Chicago.
Charles A. Schieren, Brooklyn.	Wayne MacVeagh, Philadelphia.
Chas. Eliot Norton, Cambridge, Mass.	Washington Gladden, Columbus, O.
George W. Childs, Philadelphia.	Daniel C. Gilman, Baltimore, Md.
Gamaliel Bradford, Boston.	Lyman Abbott, New York.
Moorfield Storey, Boston.	Richard T. Ely, Madison, Wis.
Matthew Hale, Albany, N. Y.	Alexander Brown, Philadelphia.
L. Clarke Davis, Philadelphia.	Francis A. Walker, Boston.
R. Fulton Cutting, New York.	Edward E. Hale, Boston.
Horace White, New York.	John R. Procter, Washington, D. C.
William G. Low, Brooklyn.	Edwin L. Godkin, New York.
Edward M. Shepard, Brooklyn.	Wendell P. Garrison, New York.

- John Field, Philadelphia.
Fred. Law Olmstead, Brookline, Mass.
Philip C. Garrett, Philadelphia.
Samuel B. Capen, Boston.
Isaac Sharpless, Haverford Coll., Pa.
Ansley Wilcox, Buffalo, N. Y.
Finley Acker, Philadelphia.
Edward Cary, Brooklyn.
John B. Garrett, Philadelphia.
Joel J. Baily, Philadelphia.
J. Andrews Harris, Philadelphia.
Joseph Krauskopf, Philadelphia.
Edwin D. Mead, Boston.
Charles C. Harrison, Philadelphia.
Isaac J. Wistar, Philadelphia.
Everett P. Wheeler, New York.
Jacob F. Miller, New York.
Seth Sprague Terry, New York.
Samuel H. Ordway, New York.
James S. Whitney, Philadelphia.
Franklin MacVeagh, Chicago.
R. C. McMurtrie, Philadelphia.
Joseph S. Harris, Philadelphia.
Marshall Field, Chicago.
Herbert Lee Harding, Boston.
Causten Browne, Boston.
E. P. Allinson, Philadelphia.
- William Potts, New York.
W. Harris Roome, New York.
H. B. Adams, Johns Hopkins Univ.
Wm. J. Gaynor, Brooklyn.
Sylvester Baxter, Boston.
Hampton L. Carson, Philadelphia.
Theodore M. Etting, Philadelphia.
Ellis D. Williams, Philadelphia.
O. W. Whitaker, Philadelphia.
W. W. Frazier, Philadelphia.
W. Dudley Foulke, Richmond, Ind.
H. La Barre Jayne, Philadelphia.
John H. Converse, Philadelphia.
Wm. P. Henszey, Philadelphia.
Horace E. Deming, New York.
Anson Phelps Stokes, New York.
Alfred Bishop Mason, New York.
A. R. MacDonough, New York.
Chas. R. Codman, Barnstable, Mass.
George Burnham, Philadelphia.
J. Rodman Paul, Philadelphia.
James E. Rhoads, Bryn Mawr.
E. W. Clark, Philadelphia.
William Pepper, Philadelphia.
S. Davis Page, Philadelphia.
Albert Shaw, New York.
Dorman B. Eaton, New York.

PROGRAM.

A NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT,

TO BE HELD IN

PHILADELPHIA,

THURSDAY, JANUARY 25TH, AND FRIDAY, JANUARY 26TH, 1894.

The Sessions of the Conference will be held in the Hall of the Art Club, Broad Street below Walnut Street, west side. The Hall is on the second floor; entrance on Brighton Street. The Art Club is about five minutes' walk from the Pennsylvania Railroad Station, Broad and Filbert Streets; eight minutes' walk from the Reading Terminal, Twelfth and Market Streets.

A cordial invitation is issued to the general public to attend the Sessions of the Conference. Debate, however, will be confined to delegates and invited guests.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 25TH.

MR. JAMES C. CARTER, of New York, will preside.

First Session will begin at 10 A. M. precisely. Address of welcome to the delegates by MR. GEORGE BURNHAM, JR., President of the Municipal League of Philadelphia.

Addresses sketching in outline the municipal conditions of some leading cities. The time permitted to each address is twenty minutes. The following gentlemen will speak for the cities set opposite their names:—

MR. EDMOND KELLY,	New York.
MR. WILLIAM G. LOW,	Brooklyn.
MR. MOORFIELD STOREY,	Boston.
MR. FRANKLIN MAC VEAGH,	Chicago.
MR. CHARLES J. BONAPARTE,	Baltimore.
MR. GEORGE G. MERCER,	Philadelphia.

At the conclusion of these addresses the meeting will be open to questions and debate upon the material presented on the part of the delegates to the Conference.

The first session will close at 1.15 P. M.

Delegates will be entertained at lunch in the Art Club by the Auxiliary Committee of Ladies from 1.15 until 2.30 o'clock.

The second session of the Conference will begin at 3 P. M. precisely.

SPEAKERS AND TOPICS.

DR. LEO S. ROWE, of Philadelphia.

"Municipal Government as it Should Be and May Become."

HON. CARL SCHURZ, of New York.

"The Relations of Civil Service Reform to Municipal Reform."

MRS. JOSEPH P. MUMFORD, of Philadelphia.

"The Relations of Women to Municipal Reform."

MR. W. HARRIS ROOME, of New York.

"The Separation of Municipal from Other Elections."

Debate until 5.30 o'clock. Recess.

The time allowed each delegate who desires to take part in debate not over five minutes.

A dinner will be served to the delegates and to invited guests from other cities, at 7 o'clock precisely, in the Hotel Metropole, Broad Street, nearly opposite the Art Club.

NOTICE.

Delegates and invited guests are requested to register their names, immediately upon their arrival in the city, in a book provided for that purpose at the Hotel Metropole, Broad Street, below Locust.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 26TH.

First session of the Conference will begin at 10 o'clock precisely.
The time allowed each speaker is twenty minutes.

REV. WASHINGTON GLADDEN, D. D., of Columbus, Ohio.

"Influence upon Officials in Office."

"How to Arouse Public Sentiment in Favor of Good City Government."

MR. EDWIN D. MEAD, of Boston.

"By Means of Education."

REV. J. H. ECOB, D. D., of Albany, N. Y.

"By Means of the Churches."

Debate until 1.15 o'clock.

Time allowed to a delegate taking part in debate, not over five minutes.

Intermission for lunch and rest, 1.15 to 3 P. M.

Delegates will be entertained at lunch as on the previous day.

Second Session, 3 P. M.

The time permitted to each speaker is twenty minutes.

"How to Bring Public Sentiment to Bear Upon the Choice of Good Public Officials."

MR. ALFRED BISHOP MASON, of New York.

"Through the Primaries."

MR. SAMUEL B. CAPEN, of Boston.

"By Means of Selection from the Candidates of the Regular Parties, and by Means of the Occasional Nomination of Independent Candidates."

MR. CHARLES RICHARDSON, of Philadelphia.

"By Permanent Municipal Parties."

Debate until 5.30.

A PUBLIC MEETING

IN THE INTEREST OF

GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT

will be held in Association Hall, Fifteenth and Chestnut Streets, at 8 P. M.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 26TH.

HON. JOHN FIELD, of Philadelphia, will preside.

SPEAKERS.

HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, of the National Civil Service Commission. Topic:

"Practical Methods for Securing Political Reform."

REV. W. S. RAINSFORD, D. D., of New York:

"The Churches and Municipal Reform."

MR. SAMUEL B. CAPEN, of Boston:

"What Boston is Doing for Municipal Reform."

LIST OF DELEGATES TO CONFERENCE.

MUNICIPAL LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA.

George Burnham, Jr., Charles Richardson, Thomas B. Prichett, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Finley Acker, Herbert Welsh, Stuart Wood, William Draper Lewis, Henry Gawthrop, Dr. John B. Roberts, Rev. William I. Nichols, John P. Croasdale, B. Frank Clapp, Dr. S. D. McConnell, George Gluyas Mercer, Hector McIntosh, Rev. Joseph May, H. Gordon McCouch, Ebed S. Cook, George E. Mapes, Frank P. Prichard, Prof. Edmund J. James, D. Webster Dougherty, E. Clinton Rhoades, R. Francis Wood, Lincoln L. Eyre, Francis B. Reeves, W. M. Salter.

CITY CLUB OF NEW YORK.

James C. Carter, John Harsen Rhoades, R. Fulton Cutting, Frederick Bronson, Boudinot Keith, Rev. Theo. C. Williams, Eugene L. Lentillon, Richard Watson Gilder, W. S. Rainsford, D. D., Wm. Bayard Cutting, Eugene A. Hoffman, D. D., Edmond Kelly.

GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUB, A, NEW YORK.

W. Harris Roome, DeForest Grant.

GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUB, B, NEW YORK.

Royal S. Crane, Louis C. Whitin, Dr. John P. Peters, Henry R. Elliott.

GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUB, C, NEW YORK.

John Jay Chapman.

GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUB, D, NEW YORK.

Charles Tabor, R. W. G. Welling.

GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUB, E, NEW YORK.

Wm. J. Campbell, Robert Graham, L. J. Callanen, T. C. Harriott, Chas. M. Perry, E. F. Bliss, Jr., John B. Faure, R. C. Carroll.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ASSOCIATION.

Carl Schurz, Horace E. Deming, William Potts, J. H. C. Nevius, Alfred Bishop Mason.

BALTIMORE REFORM LEAGUE.

Charles Morris Howard, Charles J. Bonaparte, Henry W. Williams, Wm. J. Dickey, Richard Bernard, Dr. Sidney Sherwood, Larason Riggs, Dr. Adam J. Gorman.

BALTIMORE TAX-PAYERS' ASSOCIATION.

Henry N. Bankard, Michael A. Mullin, Edward Stabler, Jr., Dr. Milton Hammond, Benjamin F. Walker.

CITIZENS' REFORM MOVEMENT OF BALTIMORE.

W. Morris Orem, Walter Carrington, James J. McNamara, Frederick W. Schultz, Robert Roddy.

UNION LEAGUE OF CHICAGO.

Wm. A. Giles, (also Real Estate Board of Chicago.)

CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION OF BOSTON.

W. W. Vaughan, Charles W. Birtwell.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ASSOCIATION OF CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

George G. Wright.

ADVANCE CLUB OF PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND.

Joseph A. Miller, Samuel W. Kilvert, Hiram Howard.

BOARD OF TRADE OF MINNEAPOLIS.

A. L. Crocker, J. S. McLain.

MUNICIPAL LEAGUE OF MILWAUKEE.

John A. Butler.

LIBRARY HALL ASSOCIATION OF CAMBRIDGE.

George G. Wright.

MASSACHUSETTS REFORM CLUB, BOSTON.

Moorfield Storey.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

Dr. H. R. Waite, Rev. M. C. Peters, Walter S. Logan, LaSalle A. Maynard.

JEFFERSON CLUB, NEW ORLEANS.

F. C. Zacharie, Prof. J. R. Ficklin.

GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUB, YONKERS, N. Y.

Datus C. Smith, Samuel T. Hubbard, Alexander Laird, Frederick William Holls.

CHADWICK CIVIC CLUB, NEW YORK.

Edward King, Charles B. Spar.

CITIZEN'S LEAGUE OF CAMDEN.

Col. Samuel Hufty, Dr. Silas H. Quint.

BOARD OF TRADE OF READING.

George J. Eckert.

PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS' ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA.

John S. McIntosh, D. D., Wm. H. Roberts, D. D., Wm. Hutton, D. D.,
Andrew J. Sullivan, D. D., Robert Hunter, D. D.

TEMPLE CONGRESS OF PHILADELPHIA.

Evan B. Lewis, Augustus Reimer.

PUBLIC OPINION CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA.

Wm. C. Davis, Dr. Jump, Frank B. Boon.

BOSTON, MASS. : Sylvester Baxter, *The Herald*; Rev. F. B. Allen, City
Mission Society; Edwin D. Mead, *New England Magazine*; George P.
Morris, *The Congregationalist*.BALTIMORE, MD. : Wm. H. Winkelmen, David Horn, C. Glaser, David
W. Glass.NEW YORK : Rev. Leighton Williams, C. W. Watson, Union League;
Rev. W. S. Ufforel, A. G. Gerring.BROOKLYN, N. Y. : Wm. G. Low, Hon. Chas. A. Schieren, Thomas G.
Shearman, A. Augustus Healy.

CHICAGO : Franklin McVeagh, Fred'k N. Voorhees.

ALBANY, N. Y. : Rev. J. H. Ecob.

KANSAS CITY, MO. : T. W. Johnson, Jr., Frank W. MacDonald.

COLUMBUS, O. : Rev. Washington Gladden, D. D.

HARTFORD, CONN. : Arthur Perkins.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE, R. I. : Prof. George G. Wilson.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY, ITHACA, N. Y. : Prof. Jeremiah W. Jenks.

MONTCLAIR, N. J. : Kirk Brown.

MILLVILLE, N. J. : Joseph A. Haines.

CAMDEN, N. J. : Frank T. Lloyd.

On the evening of January 25, a Dinner to the delegates and invited guests was given at the Hotel Metropole, Broad Street, below Locust Street, at 7.30 P. M., at which Mr. Francis B. Reeves presided.

(For speeches made on this occasion see *Appendix*).

LIST OF PHILADELPHIANS WHO SUBSCRIBED TO THE DINNER.

Charles F. Abbott, Edward P. Allinson.

Charles A. Brinley, Henry Budd, John Baird, Abraham M. Beitler, Joel J. Baily, Arthur M. Burton, Kirk Brown, Edward W. Bok, Rev. Frederick A. Bisbee, George D. Bromley, Rev. Joseph N. Blanchard, James M. Beck, Edward H. Bonsall, Sol. Blumenthal.

Richard M. Cadwalader, John S. Cope, B. Frank Clapp, Cyrus H. K. Curtis, David Carrick, John H. Chesnut, Samuel Croft, Ebed S. Cook, James W. Cooke, Samuel T. Child.

Eugene Delano, Rev. Chas. A. Dickey, Rev. Stephen W. Dana, Joseph G. Darlington, D. Webster Dougherty, Charles Dissel.

A. G. Elliot, Lincoln L. Eyre.

J. Roberts Foulke, Dr. Persifor Frazer, Stephen Farrelly, George H. Fisher, George A. Fletcher, L. G. Fouse.

Lincoln Godfrey, Hon. Geo. S. Graham, J. E. Gillingham.

Hon. J. I. Clark Hare, Rev. Joseph S. Harris, Rev. J. Andrews Harris, Dr. C. E. Hopkins, Chas. W. Henry, H. H. Houston, James M. Hibbs, John V. Huber, Robert H. Hinckley.

Hon. Theo. F. Jenkins, Dr. Edmund J. James, J. Levering Jones, Alfred R. Justice, James M. Jeitles, Walter M. James, M. D., Henry Justice.

Francis Fisher Kane, Wm. Kirkbride, John L. Kinsey, Albert A. Keene.

Enoch Lewis, Edward Lewis, Arthur H. Lea, Francis W. Lewis, Craige Lippincott, Charles S. Lincoln, James M. Longacre, George T. Lewis, J. Dundas Lippincott, Samuel J. Lewis, Louis J. Lautenbach, M. D., Theodore J. Lewis, William Draper Lewis.

James Mifflin, George E. Mapes, Rev. Joseph May, Rev. S. D. McConnell, J. Willis Martin, N. Dubois Miller, Caleb J. Milne, James MacAllister.

Rev. William I. Nichols, Frank L. Neall, J. Shipley Newlin.

Robert C. Ogden.

J. Rodman Paul, S. Davis Page, Frank P. Prichard, Thomas May Pierce, Edwin D. Partridge, W. H. Pfahler.

J. G. Rosengarten, Charles Richardson, Dr. John B. Roberts, E. Clinton Rhoads, J. G. Ramsdell, Dr. L. S. Rowe, Joseph P. Remington.

Hon. Edwin S. Stuart, Edward S. Sayres, Isaac A. Sheppard, T. C. Search, Geo. Strawbridge, M. D., Edward R. Strawbridge, N. Parker Shortridge, Uselma C. Smith, James T. Shinn, S. B. Stitt, Wm. M.

Salter, Edmund Smith, Andrew M. Shute, Wm. C. Smith, John M. Sharp, V. C. Sweatman.

Charles W. Trotter.

Herbert Welsh, James H. Windrim, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, R. Francis Wood, William C. Wilson, James Whittall, Ellis D. Williams, Walter Wood, Joseph Lapsley Wilson, Albert Lapsley Wilson, E. W. Wistar, O. D. Wilkinson, Thomas Earle White, Talcott Williams.

LIST OF PHILADELPHIANS WHO SUBSCRIBED, NOT ONLY TO THE
DINNER, BUT TO THE EXPENSES OF THE CONFERENCE.

George W. Childs, Henry C. Lea, George Burnham, George Burnham, Jr., James A. Wright, Charles Chauncey, Joshua L. Baily, Thomas Scattergood, Charles E. Bushnell, F. B. Reeves, Isaac H. Clothier, Wm. Sellers, Charles C. Harrison, J. C. Strawbridge, Rudolph Blankenburg, Lincoln L. Eyre, George G. Mercer, Henry La Barre Jayne, E. W. Clark, John H. Converse, Finley Acker, Frank L. Neall, J. Bayard Henry, George Harrison Fisher, Richard S. Mason, John Lowber Welsh, M. Carey Lea, David Scull, Dillwyn Wistar, W. H. Rhawn, Mrs. Robert Kennedy, Eugene Delano, B. Frank Clapp, Wayne MacVeagh, Miss Fannie DeL. Welsh, Joel J. Baily, Joseph S. Harris, Philip C. Garrett, W. W. Frazier, Conyers Button, Frederick B. Miles, J. G. Rosengarten, Stuart Wood, H. G. McCouch.

APPENDIX

CONTAINING THE
PAPERS READ BEFORE THE CONFERENCE
AND THE
SPEECHES DELIVERED AT THE DINNER
AND AT THE PUBLIC MEETING.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF BOSTON.

By MOORFIELD STOREY.

The city government of Boston to-day is better than it has been for many years. We are fortunate in having an extremely able and efficient Mayor, who is now entering upon his fourth year of office, and who has been the first to exercise vigorously the powers given him by the late amendments to the city charter. In the brief time allotted to me, however, you will rather expect me to mention those features in our system of government which invite comment than to speak of the men who are now charged with its administration.

Since the city was first incorporated, in 1822, the tendency has been to concentrate executive power, as will very clearly appear by a comparison of the first and the present city charter.

The framers of the original charter borrowed the idea of two legislative chambers from the standard American constitution, and intrusted the government of the city to two boards, the first consisting of the Mayor and eight Aldermen, and the second, known as the Common Council, of forty-eight members.

The Board of Mayor and Aldermen was in substance transferred from the system then and now existing for the government of towns. The Selectmen of towns are the depositaries of all executive power, but they act as a board. Their chairman presides at their meetings, but has no more influence on their decisions than any other member.

In the same way the Mayor and Aldermen acted together as one body, of which the Mayor was chairman. He was in terms made the chief executive officer of the city, but his duties were defined in the following language: "It shall be the duty of the Mayor to be vigilant and active in all things

in causing the laws for the government of the city to be duly executed and put in force, to inspect the conduct of all subordinate officers and the government thereof, and as far as in his power to cause all neglects, carelessness and positive violations of duty to be duly prosecuted and punished." He was given also the power to call meetings of the Board of Aldermen and Common Council, and it was made his duty to communicate information to both branches of the City Council, and to make such recommendations as he thought proper.

The administration of police, together with the executive powers of the city generally and all the powers theretofore vested in the Selectmen of the town of Boston, either by the general laws of the Commonwealth, by particular laws, or by the usages, votes and by-laws of the town, were vested in the Mayor and Aldermen.

The city government, consisting of this Board and the Common Council, was authorized to provide for the appointment or election of all necessary officers, to prescribe their duties and fix their compensation, and wherever the law directed that appointments to office should be made by the Mayor and Aldermen, the Mayor was given the power of nomination. The charter, however, contained no such direction.

Under this charter the Mayor had little or no real power. The executive authority of the city was vested in the municipal legislature. Responsibility was divided and the city was governed by committees.

The charter, as revised in 1885, and since amended, which is the charter of Boston to-day, gives the Mayor the power to appoint all officers and boards which before that time were elected by the City Council or Board of Aldermen, and all whose offices have since been or may be established by either Board, and gives him further the power to remove any officer or member of an administrative board for such cause as he shall deem sufficient and assign in his order of removal. His power of appointment in the first instance is made subject to confirmation by the Board of Aldermen, but by a sub-

sequent section every officer once appointed, unless removed by the Mayor, continues to hold office after the expiration of his term of service, until his successor is appointed or elected and duly qualified. Under these provisions an efficient officer can be retained as long as the Mayor sees fit.

For example, the present Mayor at the beginning of his term appointed a city Architect, who has introduced various reforms which have made him very unpopular with contractors and with Aldermen and with Councilmen, to whose dictation he has refused to submit. He has very largely reduced the expenses of his department, and public buildings under his rule have been erected with economy unknown under his immediate predecessors. The Board of Aldermen, when he was reappointed early in the Mayor's second term, refused to confirm him, but the Mayor has made no new nomination, and he has held office ever since, and will continue to do so undoubtedly while Mr. Matthews is Mayor.

The executive powers of the city and all the executive powers formerly vested in the Board of Aldermen are vested in the Mayor, to be exercised through the several officers and boards of the city in their respective departments under his general supervision and control. These officers and boards in their respective departments are authorized to make all necessary contracts for labor, materials, construction and repair, and have the entire charge of the public works, institutions, buildings, and property, and the direction and control of all the executive and administrative business of the city. They are at all times accountable to the Mayor, whose duty it is made to secure the honest, efficient and economical control of the entire executive and administrative business of the city. Every contract involving more than \$2000 requires his approval before going into effect, and he is also given the power to disapprove particular items in any vote involving the appropriation of money or the raising of a tax, and in that case, the items so disapproved have no effect unless passed over his veto. This last provision makes it impossible for the City Council to tack an objectionable item on to an appropriation bill, and thus coerce the Mayor by forcing him either to

approve it or to defeat the whole bill, and in practice it has been found very useful.

It will be seen that this charter gives the Mayor great power and corresponding responsibility. He has in effect the absolute control of expenditure and a qualified veto over appropriations.

The only relic of the old system is found in the provision which requires that his appointments shall be confirmed by the Board of Aldermen. This, like the corresponding provision in various charters and State constitutions, as well as in the Constitution of the United States, is coming to be regarded as of very doubtful value. This power of the Aldermen to confirm or reject limits the choice of the Mayor, who can, in answer to any criticism, reply that a given appointment was made, not because it was the best one possible, but because the nominee was the only man whom the Aldermen would confirm, or because he was the best of those whom the Aldermen would confirm. It is a system which favors trades and political bargains which are fatal to efficient government, and it permits members of the confirming body to blackmail candidates by charging a price for confirmation, a practice which is said to be not unknown. We are familiar with the operation of this rule in the Senate of the United States, where it is used to gratify personal spite or to increase the corrupt control of Senators over spoils, and it is at least a serious question whether it is not the parent of a great many evils which far outweigh any useful purpose which it subserves. It is a departure from the sound principle that the legislature shall not exercise executive power, and it is to be hoped that it may not long survive.

From the general grant of executive power to the Mayor, one important power is excepted. The police force of Boston is not under the control of the city authorities, but is placed in charge of a police commission appointed by the Governor. This is partly due to the belief on the part of temperance reformers throughout the State that the laws against the sale of intoxicating liquors would not be enforced by a body of police appointed by the city

government, and partly to the fact that the police force of Boston has in past years been thought an efficient political machine, and the dominant party has been unwilling to leave it under the control of its political opponents who governed the city. The fact that the police force is under the civil service rules mitigates the evil resulting from this system, but it is unfortunate that the Mayor whose duty it is to see that the law is enforced should have no control of the men upon whom he must rely and through whom he must act in doing so.

Another feature in our system of government is the limitation on the taxing power and the borrowing power. The citizen of Boston must pay his share of the State's expenses, of \$425,000 assumed to be the county expenses, and of the sums required by law to meet the interest and principal of the city's debts, but beyond these no sum can be raised by taxation in any year which requires a tax of more than \$9 on every \$1000 of valuation. No debt can be incurred, except for certain extraordinary expenses under special legislative authority, which will make the total debt of the city exceed two per cent. of the valuation. The valuation in each case is the average assessor's valuation for the five years preceding the assessment of the tax or the contracting of the debt.

No money can be borrowed at all for purposes considered in fixing the debt limit unless the Mayor certifies on the order authorizing the loan that it is not borrowed for current expenses, or, that if it is borrowed for a current expense, public necessity requires it. These last provisions enable the Mayor to prevent any improper increase of the city debt, and have been very strictly construed by the present Mayor.

The limitations enumerated, taken together, compel the city to live within its income, and the possibility of jobs is very much diminished. The legitimate requirements of the city are so great that each expenditure must be carefully scrutinized and nothing which is fraudulent can easily escape attack.

Another feature in the city government of Boston is

found in the provision of our law which places the laborers in the city's employ under the protection of the civil service rules. The report of the Massachusetts Civil Service Reform Commission states that during the year 1892, 2192 men were registered upon the labor list of the city, and 859 men were certified for employment in response to 106 requisitions from the various departments. The total number on the rolls is 4000, and of these 2600 are on the pay-roll, the rest waiting to be certified. There were less men certified, employed and discharged in the several departments of the city during that year than in any former year since the passage of the Civil Service Act. "This fact," say the Commissioners, "is evidence that under civil service rules the labor service of Boston is becoming more permanent. The temptation to make constant changes in order to reward political or personal friends has been removed. The only test is efficient work."

This feature is not peculiar to Boston, as the law applies to other cities in the State, but its effect has been to remove one fertile source of political corruption. Under the old system each member of the Common Council received a certain number of tickets corresponding to his share of the total number of men in the employ of the city. No man could receive employment from the city unless he presented one of these tickets, and workmen were discharged as fast as it was necessary to find places for those who bore these credentials. The wages paid laborers thus became a great bribery fund which members of the city legislature divided. The result was of course the same which obtains wherever the spoils system is applied.

The other departments of the city government are also under the civil service law, but this is true of cities outside of Massachusetts. Experience here as elsewhere shows that wherever this law is applied the public service is improved.

The legislative department of the city, which consists of a Board of Aldermen and a Common Council, is not entirely satisfactory. A law passed by the last legislature provides that the twelve aldermen who constitute the board shall be

chosen at large, and that no voter shall vote for more than seven aldermen. This was intended to secure a representation of the minority and to do away with the evils arising from the district system. In practice, however, it does not seem to have materially improved the composition of the board. The nominations were at once made by the two national parties, and in fact by the governing committees of those parties, and the voters had substantially no voice except in choosing two aldermen. The result has been that the mayor of the city is Democratic, while the majority of the aldermen are Republican. If honest citizens without regard to their differences on national questions would combine to secure good men in the Board of Aldermen, this law might be of great assistance, but employed merely to divide the board between Republicans and Democrats it is useless.

There are constant suggestions that members of the legislative body use their offices for the purpose of extorting money; but such charges, though frequently made, are difficult to prove, until matters reach such a point that a strong public sentiment is aroused and men are willing to state the facts. It is said that such permits, licenses, and other privileges as the Board of Aldermen or city council may grant are made to cost the applicants certain sums of money. A mysterious person not connected with the city government will approach a petitioner or party interested and inform him that his matter is before some committee and that it will be reported favorably if a certain sum is paid, and otherwise not. If it is not paid, the committee is very apt to delay its report until the petitioner, more anxious than scrupulous, comes to terms. These charges go from mouth to mouth and are commonly believed, but while certain cases may be proved, it is difficult to bring the guilt home to any member of the city government, and it is impossible to say more than that such abuses are possible, if not probable. The evils which exist in the legislatures of every city and State, through the influence of corporations and other causes too familiar to require enumeration, are not unknown in Boston, but there is nothing peculiar in the history of that city. What has

happened there has happened everywhere all over the country, and perhaps the most serious question which reformers are called upon to meet is how to secure an able and honest legislature ; how to make municipal service, I will not say attractive, but tolerable.

A legislature which is liable to be corrupted is a great evil, and we are naturally led by this reflection to inquire how far a legislature is necessary. The Common Council of Boston consists of seventy-five members, each ward electing its proper proportion. Except that it votes on appropriations and loans, it has no important function under the present charter, but it is too much to say that its idle hands always escape the notice of Satan. It has been called "a debating society on the art of bad government," and it is difficult to see why it should not be abolished.

Under our system of annual elections the contest for seats in the Common Council introduces a wholly unnecessary number of political contests into municipal life, and as a result the city government contains too many politicians who are anxious to distinguish themselves, but who are without any legitimate field for the exercise of their talents. It is to-day a useless and therefore a mischievous body. The whole work which properly falls upon a city council can be done by a single board, as has been proved by the experience of other cities.

The Mayor and City Council of Boston are elected annually. The city election occurs about a month after the State election in November, and even this slight separation has tended to prevent combinations between candidates for State and city offices. A longer interval between the two is to be desired, so that the voter at the city election may devote his attention wholly to the city business, but it would be better still if the Mayor and the members of the City Council were elected for longer terms. Under the present system the election is too constantly present. Ephemeral feelings and conditions acquire undue weight. Politics divide the year with business, and the result of too frequent change is to weaken the hands of the efficient officer and to secure for the city the

maximum of inexperience in its government. The necessity of undergoing the fatigue and annoyance of frequent elections makes municipal office especially unattractive to the men whose service the city needs ; it entails unnecessary expense on the community, and in every way impairs efficiency of administration. If the Mayor could be elected for two or three years, and the Governor for two years, and the different elections could be separated as widely as possible ; if perhaps also the members of the City Council could be elected for long terms, so divided that only a third should go out of office at the same time, a better and more harmonious administration of municipal affairs would be secured.

In brief, in so far as the principles of business have been applied to the government of Boston it has been improved, and is to-day exceptionally efficient. A citizen of Boston receives for his taxes clean streets, good schools, a reasonably efficient fire department, a beautiful system of parks, and many other advantages. So far as we can judge from our experience, the way to improve city governments lies through the application of business principles to the business of the city, and the extension of the system which is known as Civil Service Reform. A city is a business corporation, and no man can do its business well unless he is trained for the work. A man who has devoted his life to trade or manufactures, or to the practice of medicine or the law, can not suddenly be placed at the head of a great railroad system without great detriment to the interests confided to his care. The business of a city requires equal training and experience, and if the people of the United States can once be brought to recognize the fact that the issues of national politics are entirely outside the questions which arise in the government of a city, and to believe that the administration of municipal business may be a profession like any other, a great step in advance will be taken. Voters will then combine to secure men trained to do the city's work, and not be satisfied with a candidate because he calls himself a member of their political party.

There is really no difference of opinion among honest

men on the question of clean streets, good sewers, efficient police, a good fire department, the proper regulation of street railways, and other like questions. It is because men put these questions entirely aside and vote for Mayors and Aldermen upon party lines that a class has grown up in our large cities who, taking no interest in national politics, but relying on the existence of strong party spirit in others simply undertake to make their living at the expense of their fellow citizens.

These men are not the exclusive property of either party. They call themselves Republicans in one city and Democrats in another, but everywhere their purposes are the same. If men will recognize where their true interests lie and will take their municipal business out of politics, they will combine against this class of depredators and insist upon having their cities as well managed as their banks, their railroads, and their other business corporations. By applying the principles of civil service reform these enemies of good government are deprived of one great weapon. With no offices by which to reward their henchmen, they are without the means of paying the mercenaries upon whose support they now rely. If we can in the same way deprive them of the power over ordinary licenses and other privileges which they now hold, we shall take from them another weapon. If we can make the Mayor a permanent official and give him a board of efficient directors with whom to consult, we shall be able to place the responsibility for bad government where it belongs, which is the first step toward improvement. We shall be able to get a better class of men to take municipal office, and with good administrators our system is certain to improve. Our text must be that a city is a business corporation and to be managed as such. Fair pay and assured tenure will make the service of a city attractive to good men. We may get them now occasionally and by accident, but our system is admirably devised to drive them from the public service. With officers unfitted either from lack of ability or lack of character to do good work, no system of government can succeed.

Finally no charter, however skilfully framed, will accomplish its purpose without public spirit, which is the willingness to sacrifice something which one values for the public good. It shows no public spirit to contribute once or twice a year money which the giver does not miss to be spent by some campaign committee. We must make up our minds to give time, which we would much rather give to business, rest or pleasure, and thought, which we would more willingly devote to our own affairs. These are the contributions which are needed. Self-government means that we ourselves must take a hand in the work. The enemies of good government are men who are seeking to benefit themselves at the public expense. They are really weak as all self-seekers are. Their strength lies in the fact that it is their business to maintain the present abuses on which they fatten. For this business they combine and to it they give their best powers, their whole time, their whole thought.

The men who wish good government are more numerous, more powerful, abler and stronger than their opponents, if they only knew it. A very little combination, a very little time and thought from each man or even from comparatively few men is all that is needed. If we could in each city see the photographs of the men who constitute the rings of which we complain, and could read their histories, we should be ashamed of our subjection. Municipal reform is only a question of will.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF BROOKLYN.

BY WILLIAM G. LOW.

The subject upon which I have been asked to prepare a paper for your consideration is, "Present Conditions of Municipal Government in Brooklyn."

Brooklyn is a city of about 1,000,000 inhabitants, and, although standing on one side of the great Atlantic doorway of the continent, about seven-tenths of its people are native born. The three-tenths of foreign birth were furnished nearly as follows: 115,000 by Germany; 100,000 by Ireland; by Great Britain, 35,000; Canada and Newfoundland, 6,000; Norway, Sweden and Denmark, 18,000 to 20,000; Italy, 15,000; and Russia, Switzerland, France and other lands accounting for the balance. In the native population a considerable element is composed of children sprung of foreign-born parents, while, on the other hand, many of those born abroad came here as children, and have grown up under native conditions. On an original colonial foundation, largely Dutch and English, there has grown up, enfolding the European element, a great community derived from the other parts of New York State and elsewhere, particularly from New England, whose people and ideas exert a marked influence upon the Brooklyn of to-day.

Nine-tenths of Brooklyn's population has come to her within my recollection, so that not only has her growth been great, but also remarkably rapid. This varied population, too, has not only come from various places, but out of differing conditions, political, social and religious. All the time, however, we trust that under free institutions it is becoming more homogeneous and more at home in its habitat.

While Brooklyn in its occupations is largely commercial

and manufacturing, it presents itself prominently as a city of homes. With its rapid growth in population still going on, the multiplication of dwellings, and their concomitants, railroads, churches, schools and stores, makes real estate questions of striking importance in its social and political economy. As our taxation is borne almost entirely by our real estate, the size of the tax rate, and its increase or diminution under any administration, is confessedly a very important political item with us, affecting so directly as it does the growth and prosperity of the city. The tax rate is watched like a barometer by the politically weather-wise.

The question of transportation to the city across the East river, where so many score thousands of its people do their work, emphasizes the usual importance of quick and convenient transit from one place to another.

Brooklyn has this other strong local influence affecting her, directly and indirectly, New York City. In the time allotted to me I can but mention this and not explain the how and the wherein. Suffice it to say that it differentiates her peculiarly from all other cities here brought to your notice.

I have thus hastily hinted at a few of the physical conditions existing in Brooklyn; for after all, government, and Municipal Government especially, has to consider among its primary conditions the people with whom it has to do and their surroundings.

In the more direct conditions of Municipal Government, Brooklyn has some which are common to all our large cities, and some more or less peculiar to herself.

I suppose that in all the cities named in our programme, there are certain men who make a business of "politics," and do it for what they can get out of it for themselves and their friends. These men are variously termed "politicians," "machinists," "professionals" and so on. They undoubtedly represent a strong and natural tendency, and one to meet which calls for the exercise of great vigilance and self-sacrifice on the part of disinterested and patriotic citizens, if enlightened public opinion is to have its proper and healthful

sway. Those who make a profit-seeking profession of politics are like specialists.

It is well recognized that a specialist in his particular field has a great advantage over those whose study and work take a wider and more varied range, and the greater the complexity and difficulty of the field, the greater the advantage. But can we surrender the field to these specialists without surrendering our cherished ideas and the precious benefits of general participation in political action? It would seem not. So then, evidently the proper course for a municipality to take is to make it as easy as possible for the general public to express its opinion and, when it does so, to do it with the utmost effectiveness.

We think that our Brooklyn charter is very helpful in the direction indicated. In the first place, it calls for its important city election but once in two years, and then stakes practically the whole administration of its city affairs upon the choice of one official, the Mayor. To him, as probably most of you know, is committed the appointing of the heads of the great departments by which the business of the city is carried on, and thus the election of the Mayor is made so important that it becomes the centre of attention and interest. And, when the people are thoroughly aroused, they are able with one effort to get possession of the whole administration of their city government. The system has been called by our distinguished and friendly British critic, Mr. Bryce, "a kill or cure" one. To this I would, modestly I hope, demur somewhat, for while, for some time previous to our last election, it looked as though the concentration of power merely afforded greater facility for irresponsible party leaders to use the person in the Mayor's chair as their instrument, all the time the people were being educated up to the true idea of the charter, that the Mayor must be in fact, and not merely in name, the responsible head of the corporation. And we think that the lesson has been very plainly brought home to their understanding and that they have learned it by heart. Certainly Brooklyn has not been killed as yet by its charter.

Now while the professionals perhaps have the advantage, as a rule, in knowledge of their art, in skill and experience as well as in persistent application to business, the people have the advantage of numbers, and this means a great deal. As an illustration, movements at various points, by various people, are all the time going on for the bettering of the city's political and social health, and if the watchful machinists array themselves against a particular project, unnoticed, or in spite of them, an advance is made in another direction. All the time the tide rises, even if slowly, and at last overwhelms those who oppose themselves to its advance.

Various gains have been made in Brooklyn over the powers that strive to use the people's business to their own advantage. One of these is called Civil Service Reform. In Brooklyn we have, and even under the last city administration did have, a good Civil Service Commission. Many, if not a majority, of its members are taken from the Civil Service Reform Association, and the law is fairly well administered, and so the professionals are deprived of a large part of their political coin. The head of, perhaps, our most important department, the Board of City works, Mr. Alfred T. White, was, until his recent appointment, the chairman of the Committee on Municipal Affairs of the Civil Service Reform Association, and in his announcement that he hopes to introduce the system of registration of laborers, so successful in Boston, points to a deprivation of political small change in the pockets of sundry ward politicians.

The reform of a similar character introduced in our Brooklyn Navy Yard, by which men are employed for their fitness rather than their politics, is another of the gains which has tended much to improve the local political conditions of our city.

Again, a constitutional limit upon the amount of indebtedness of our New York cities is another curb upon the selfishness and greed of those who would make spoil of the citizens' property. Still another vantage ground for the private citizen exists in New York State in what is known as the Tilden Act, now Section 1925 of our

Code of Civil Procedure. It is of such importance that I transcribe it.

"An action to obtain a judgment preventing waste of, or injury to, the estate, funds or other property of a county, town, city or incorporated village of this state, may be maintained against any officers thereof, or any agent, commissioner or other person, acting in its behalf, either by a citizen, resident therein, or by a corporation, who is assessed for and is liable to pay, or, within one year before the commencement of the action has paid, a tax therein."

This is the pertinent part of the section.

This provision of law was put into shape first, I believe, by Samuel J. Tilden, at the time of the overthrow of the Tweed Ring in New York City, and with some modifications since, now stands imbedded in our Code.

Under the provisions of this law, the citizens of Brooklyn have seen the schemes of men, powerful in the dominant party, dragged into Court by public-spirited individuals, represented by intrepid counsel, and there defeated. Object lessons have been held up to the public gaze in this way, which, supplemented by an honest and patriotic press and an earnest campaign, have, under the blessing of Providence, recently accomplished great things for our fair city.

Sometimes backward movements take place. To illustrate: In New York State we have what is known, after its author, as "The Cantor Act." It provides for the sale of street railway franchises at public auction to the highest bidder. Recently, in connection with certain schemes, this law was repealed as to Brooklyn, Buffalo and Rochester. Senator Cantor is said to have predicted that scandals would be the result, and Brooklyn can answer for the correctness of his prevision as far as she is concerned.

It is to be hoped that our coming Constitutional Convention will provide some adequate protection for us in this direction, perhaps retracing the backward step.

Our public business, I regret to say, has too often and too lately seemed to be more a field for profitable exploitation by private enterprise, under the wing of political influence, than one conducted entirely for the public benefit. We

hope for a change in this regard from our incoming administration, but it has to face the consequences of contracts already made by its predecessor as representing the city.

To return to the list of gains which we have made, I would name, as perhaps the greatest of all, the spirit of independence of party lines on municipal issues. More and more people have come to recognize municipal government as a matter of carrying on the business of the corporation, and that national issues should not separate people who desire to attain the same ends in the city. As was so often urged in our last city campaign, "What has the question of the tariff got to do with cleaning our streets?" Brooklyn has been distinguished for some time for the number of her independent voters, who carried their sovereignty under their own hats in national elections, and last fall they carried that same spirit with immense emphasis into the city election, and with immense effect. The opportunity, it is true, seemed providentially favorable, as the national and State differences were not of a character at the time to separate those at all independently inclined. Is there not here a point for those who favor separate municipal elections? Having, however, once tasted the fruits of independence, an invitation to another similar banquet will be more readily accepted hereafter.

This matter of independence of party lines I esteem to be of very great importance in a contest with civic "rings." The idea of "ring," as you know, is that parts of the circle are in each of the great opposing parties, and that, whichever party is in power, the portion of the ring belonging to it cares for the interests of that part of the circle for the time being out in the cold. Now it must be evident that all allegiance to party ideas is likely to be a secondary matter with men so organized and connected, when the objects governing their careers are selfish ones. At any time that the interests of the "ring" as a whole seem endangered by the action of one particular party, I would not give much for the fidelity of the members of the ring to that party at the election taking place. They will prefer their circular

interest to that of the party. Of course, these men are very fierce and emphatic about party regularity, and anxious to have every one labelled Republican or Democrat, and to have the wearer very proud of his label and very consistent in wearing it. They insist upon unswerving and unquestioning obedience to "the organization," which is apt to mean the will of the great and little bosses. If they can persuade the good citizens, who have at heart the welfare of the community, to divide into two parties, and so pair them off, they can do the nominating and voting, that counts in the balance, and decide the contest, with the aid of the element in the community that is willing to vend its vote for reward of some kind. But with an independent vote, especially if in both parties, their task is more difficult; still more difficult when the independent element is able to dominate the regular party organizations, and compel good nominations; and is hopeless, when the community is so thoroughly aroused as to throw party ties to the winds, and to bestir itself for honesty and good government. This reminds me of a colloquy under my window on the morning after our last election. The first voice said, "Well, it was the Dimmicrats that did it!" meaning the independent ones. The reply was, "Hoh! it was honest men against thayves!"

A non-partisan organization called the Citizens' Union was formed among us last year and did good service in the last election, and notably I think in its influence upon the vital point of the nomination for Mayor. Very recently it has voted to continue its existence and become a permanent factor in the political situation. Its aims, I fancy, are similar to those of the Municipal League of Philadelphia.

Perhaps you will allow me on the point of independent voting to quote from a pamphlet sent me by the American Proportional Representation League. "In the one case the districts are so constructed by nature, or by parties, that a small handful of voters hold the balance of power. By voting as a unit they are able to throw the election one way or the other. Hence these men have great influence with

the two dominant parties; each feels that it must do everything to capture this vote, and as the independent controlling vote is almost invariably of the lowest moral type the tendency is to nominate men of that stamp."

I quote it, to point out that in Brooklyn, when the city votes as a whole, that the independent controlling vote is not of the lowest moral type, but of the most thoughtful and conscientious kind. Of this I am, as a Brooklynite, proud. I can bear witness to the devotion, intelligence and self-sacrifice of too many in our last election, and in others for that matter, not to be confident whereof I speak. Gentlemen, what we need for better city government, and we have made a beginning in Brooklyn, is to develop these qualities of intelligence and self-sacrifice. On these the safety of the Republic rests, and it is well that it does, for it is through these that the world moves upwards; and that our institutions pre-eminently call for them proves that they are institutions to develop the highest character and the highest type of manhood.

In Brooklyn we have good reason to be encouraged and to press on towards the high ideal of excellence which has been presented to our minds as a possibility. In the mere possession of this ideal and of the spirit of progress, we have an inestimable advantage over those with whom we have to contend, as they appear to be entirely destitute of any such thing. This of itself would furnish good reason for believing that the future is for us, and that Brooklyn will do its part in advancing the cause of good government in American cities.

May it prove always true, and may the people of Brooklyn continue to be true to their duty as free and responsible citizens, true to their city and true to the duty they owe, of good government, to their fellow citizens of the United States of America.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF CHICAGO.

BY FRANKLIN MACVEAGH, CHICAGO.

Perhaps, ladies and gentlemen, I ought to express my regret that I have not followed the example set by Mr. Storey and Mr. Low—and written out what I have to say. And it seems, therefore, doubly ungracious to bring another disappointment to such an admirable audience as this; but I greatly fear that the story of Chicago's municipal shortcoming, bad as it is, can not possibly equal Eastern expectations. (Laughter). Too much is expected of us. (Laughter). Whenever it is a question of any sort of bad goings-on, the Eastern expectation, if Chicago is to be heard from, is that the story will be a blood-curdling one.

On the other hand, a Chicagoan would have to be in full training, and at his very best, to attempt to do any boasting about his city politics. Indeed, he knows very well that when compared with the government of any but American cities, the government of his city, like that of so many other cities of his country, is simply a deep disgrace to republican institutions and to the great democratic idea.

Nevertheless, it is true that we take the disgrace and the discomforts of our municipal defects a little less seriously and wearily than you are apt to do yours in the East. We are, perhaps, too inclined to be light-hearted about them; but then, you know our city is a new city, and our vices are not old. The corrupt practices of our city government are comparatively of the mere hole-in-the-wall, hand-to-mouth and shame-faced kind; whereas for deeply rooted, elaborately organized, highly popularized and self-respecting corruption (laughter) we are simply not "in it" with the Eastern cities. (Laughter and applause).

The truth is that your Eastern cities are our stumbling block. We hear so much about New York, Brooklyn, and

lately of that place of McKane's, which used to bring to us only impressions of rustic peace and quiet (laughter), that our people, in great measure, simply thank heaven that they do not have to live under Croker, McLaughlin or McKane. And, in all seriousness, Mr. Chairman, I believe if we are to have widespread municipal reform—and that, I trust and believe, is the object of this Conference—it must begin in New York. (Applause).

Our people take the abundant evils of our city government a little more easily, because we have the habitual faith that whenever the evils become too confident the party then in power in our city will get itself turned out. And that pretty regularly happens. We also, with our usual optimism, have a fatuous expectation that we are always upon the point of getting the right man for Mayor; and that we can throw the burden upon him. At present, certainly, we are quite fortunate, as Mr. Storey has said his city is, and as Mr. Low might have said his is, for we have just elected a capital Mayor, Mr. Hopkins. He is a man who firmly believes he can, and is as firmly resolved that he will, raise the standards and efficiency of our government. He is a strong man, with the gift of leadership, the faculty of organization and a genius for work.

But spurts of reform sentiment and of popular indignation are not a possible reliance or support for permanent reform; and however singularly important it may be to have a good Mayor in such a city as ours, and however good the Mayor may be, his limitations are that he can not be Mayor forever, and that he will have successors who will have to be elected under the same bad conditions which have produced all of our bad government. And very bad, Mr. Chairman, our government has been. Bad not in any exceptional way, perhaps; not so bad, as I have said, as in many other cities; but bad, too bad.

About our City Council, for instance, we have strong suspicions, even as Mr. Storey said they had in Boston about theirs; although I think I ought to admit that our suspicions are settled convictions. (Laughter). But it is not a cruel or

deep-seated sort of council ; and I think that the moment our people resolve to really take hold of their own government, our council will simply pack up its grip and say, "Why, of course, if you are ready to govern, we will simply step out. We know we have no business here." (Laughter).

As to our average Mayors, our one pride is that they have always been men of personal integrity. That is all we are proud of; and that tells the story.

Our Police Department has for almost its whole existence been the football of politics. Our present Mayor promises to take it out of politics—evidence that in some mysterious way our municipal world, in spite of everything, actually does move.

The Fire Department is out of politics, and has been for many years. It is on the merit system, pure and simple; consequently we have perhaps the best Fire Department in the world.

We have perfect inefficiency in all minor administrations. (Applause). There is probably no exception to that whatever. (Laughter). In short, we have all the defects of a city government that has no ideals whatever; no more ideals than your city government has. (Laughter). Our city government has all the deadness and badness of a government of the people that is not administered *for* the people. That is about all you can say of it; and I think that is quite enough. If that does not damn it, I do not know how I can apply the proper condemnation. (Applause).

Now, what is the environment of that city government? And here is where I want to make my point. Is it a bad environment? Does that bad government come from that environment? Quite the contrary. The environment is good. I do not see how it can be much better. In the first place, the people are known throughout the world for their public spirit. They are essentially a public-spirited people; so essentially public-spirited that they have a world-wide fame for this particular quality. (Applause).

That is the first item of this environment. The second is that we have perfect home rule; which, I take it, is the

most essential fundamental of good city government in America. We have never asked the interference of the Legislature; and the politics of the State has never, therefore, got its hands upon us at all. If Samuel Adams should come back to America to live, he would simply be forced to live in Chicago. (Applause and laughter). Our charter is a general law—not a special charter—and the Legislature can not interfere with it, can not touch it, except by touching the charter of all the cities of the State. There is no special legislation possible in our State under our constitution; but if special legislation were possible it would not effect our charter. So far as the State has touched us at all, it has touched us through its constitution; and there it has acted beneficently by limiting our power of borrowing money until our city debt is ridiculously low, only about thirteen millions, and by limiting our power of taxation, so that our taxes are moderate. We have in this way that greatest political good—absolute home rule, uninterfered with, untouched by any exterior force or power or influence.

Next to that, our charter is all that has been claimed for either of the charters which have been spoken of here this morning. We have, so far as political science has gone, a model charter. We have absolutely undivided power in the Mayor, and undivided responsibility. Our Mayor is quite as powerful in his province as the President of the United States as an executive officer is in his. Quite as powerful, quite as untrammelled. There is no question in anybody's mind in Chicago where the responsibility rests in case of any political action. The Mayor is not only invested with the great power of appointment and removal, and therefore of executive control, but he is the president of the Council (we have only one house fortunately (laughter) and he is the president of it), and he has also a veto power. With all this great appointing power in his hands, as things go now, he has necessarily great influence over the Aldermen. But not only have we this concentration of power and responsibility in the Mayor, but we have concentrated responsibility everywhere, for we have not a single board, not a single

vicious board, left in our form of government. There is no such thing as a thimble-rigging administrative board in Chicago; every department having a single chief appointed by the Mayor, removable by the Mayor, and remaining in office until he is removed or resigns.

We have, then, a first-rate charter. And we are also fortunate in what we lack; for we have no fixed and deeply-rooted political machine. You soon will all begin to want to live in Chicago if I go on. (Laughter). We have no machine that is not of mushroom growth. This vigorous young Mayor, whom we have just elected, knocked over two machines in getting into the Mayor's office; all there were in sight—all we had. If there had been more I suppose he would have bowled them over, too. So we are just now without any active political machine at all. Of course, one will grow up; but we have no such machines, and we are likely to have none such, as you gentlemen have. We have no municipal king who never dies, like McLaughlin. We have no dynasty of self-perpetuating bosses as they have in New York. I spare Mr. Bonaparte. (Laughter). We have none of these permanent organizations; we have only little mushroom affairs that come up over night and are then cut down. A machine with us does not know when it goes to bed whether it will wake up alive or not.

Again, we have the Australian ballot law. We not only have the Australian ballot law, but a law governing primaries. This latter is a voluntary law; the parties need not act under it, but public sentiment is strong enough in that direction to have obliged them to act under it, and practically they do so.

We do not have a civil service reform law. We have tried pretty hard to get it through the Legislature, but so far have not succeeded. The Fire Department, however, has long been out of politics, and the Police Department soon will be.

Now, Mr. Chairman, what is our trouble? If this environment is all right, if all these institutions are right, what is it that we lack? Our trouble, sir, is your trouble—the indifference and the neglect of the so-called good citizens

(applause). Our lack is the good citizenship of the good citizens.

There is no more misleading misnomer than that of "good citizen," for it is usually applied to the worst citizens in the community (applause); and it may be applied to a man who, in practice indeed, generally is applied to a man who, in practice, absolutely is not a citizen at all. Such men defeat good city government. I want to say that it is not the bad citizen that needs to be reformed, but the "good citizen." The bad citizens are a hopeless minority. The good citizens are a hopeless majority. (Applause).

The obstacle to the reform of the good citizen is his ignorance—and his ignorance of his ignorance. (Laughter). An American who succeeds in business, for example, considers that his success in business is equivalent to a degree from a school of political and social science. And it is not. But the good citizen can be taught if he can be stirred to think; for it goes without saying that, after all, the American has a talent for learning the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, or else we could not have a free government at all.

Now the "good citizen" must be taught, first of all, the fundamental truth that no city government in a free country can rise permanently above the level of the political *energy*, not the political sentiment, but the political energy of the community. No matter how much good civic sentiment may float round in private life, it is only energized civic sentiment that wins in city politics.

Then he must be taught this lesson also: that no man can be a citizen with the irresponsibility of a subject. (Applause). In a free country, the city government is not simply for the people, but it is emphatically by the people. (Applause). And if the good people shirk and won't govern, then the bad people certainly will govern. For somebody must govern. We can not have self-government without self-governing. And the only people to whom the "good citizens" can delegate their neglected duties and responsibilities are their bad neighbors. For there is but one class of

citizens who stand ready at all times, to take up the neglected duties of "good citizens;" and thus it is that bad government subsists upon the flotsam and jetsam of the wrecks of good citizenship. (Applause).

And now, Mr. Chairman, there are, I think, two profound errors of the "good citizen" that ought to be pulled up by the roots. The first error is, that it is possible to construct a form of government so cunning in its institutions, and in its devices and its checks and safeguards, that it can be trusted to produce good administration almost automatically, and without disturbing too seriously the "good citizen's" ease and private affairs. This error, as I conceive it, lies at the bottom of very much of our misfortune.

The other error is this, that city government is a mere business operation—and that it is not, on the contrary, a government of high political and social dignity and importance, as I conceive it to be. (Applause).

It is this error which permits men to absolve themselves from political duties by the ungrudging payment of taxes. It gives them, they think, an option to either take a part in city politics, or to commute that duty for excessive taxes. (Applause). They think, Mr. Chairman, that they are offered an alternative; whereas no alternative to energetic citizenship ever was, or ever will be, within the contemplation of any form of self-government. (Applause).

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF BALTIMORE.

BY CHARLES J. BONAPARTE.

A certain Oriental nation is said to have no legal title for its sovereign; he is too sacred to be named by his subjects. It may be for the same reason that there is no constitutional provision, statute or ordinance, defining the powers or even recognizing the existence of the true ruler of Baltimore. I shall call him in this paper the Supreme Boss, but claim for the designation no other merit than that it will be readily understood by those most interested.

The office has existed for some twenty-five years, but it has not always been held by one man. On several occasions during that period it has been placed in Commission. On October 27th, 1882, a speaker, who had every reason to know whereof he spoke, said at a public meeting:—

“I tell you, your political liberties are in danger. There is a clique who have seized the Democratic organization, and who hold it for personal aggrandizement. They have said to you (I am talking to Democrats), ‘We have determined who shall be the judges.’ Frank Morrisson, Robert J. Slater, and Rasin say to any young man who aspires to office: ‘You shan’t be nominated unless we say so, and we won’t say so unless you pay for it.’”

Since then the two first named of this triumvirate have shared the fate of Antony and Lepidus, the Democratic primaries of 1887 corresponding in result to the battle of Actium, and for the past six years an Augustus has borne unchallenged sway. The tenure of his office may be described as “during good behavior,” but “good” as thus used must be understood, like *agathoi* or *aristoi* in the literature of Greek politics, in a conventional sense. Mr. Freeman calls an aristocracy, as he uses the term, a rule of the best, not indeed of the best morally, but of those best fitted to rule. So a Baltimore Boss

remains such while, and only while, he shows himself a better man than his competitors; not better in what they would call a Sunday-school sense, but better fitted to be a Boss. Nowhere is the survival of the fittest better illustrated; each successive Boss wrests power from the grasp of one who had previously clutched it, and looks upon his own lieutenants and pupils much as a Roman Emperor regarded his Generals. Were he a classical scholar (which he usually is not) his office might remind him of

Those trees in whose dim shadow
The ghastly priest doth reign,
The priest who slew the slayer,
And shall himself be slain.

But, however this may be, he knows well enough that he will keep his place no moment longer than he can hold it with the strong hand against all odds and all comers.

A Boss in Maryland, like a Turkish Pasha, owes his dignity to merit only and, in great measure, to the same kinds of merit. For the one position, as for the other, no one is disqualified by humble birth or limited education or questionable antecedents and reputation. A poor man may rise to be a Boss as he may to be a Pasha, but, in either case, he usually becomes a rich man soon after. The American potentate, however, lives in no such barbaric splendor as surrounds his Eastern brother; again, like Augustus, our present ruler dwells among us to outward view a mere private citizen, with no shade of that divinity which doth hedge about a king. He is familiarly known as "Free," not because, as Clarendon said of an English king, "He is as free and absolute as any other monarch of Christendom," but from a corruption or abbreviation of his middle name. His colleague of the State at large (for we have a State-Boss as well) has been for some fourteen years a Senator of the United States, but he has always preferred to rule Baltimore, as Pericles did Athens, without any official authority. It is true that, as Pericles was annually elected *strategos*, he has been successively a Clerk of Court, Naval Officer of the Port, and Insurance

Commissioner, but the modern, no less than the ancient, ruler has invariably sought the substance, not the show, of power. He is willing that others should make and administer our laws, provided that he makes the law-makers and all other public servants, decides what laws shall be made and how they shall be administered. In certain respects, however, he differs widely from Pericles; he is no orator and pretends to be no statesman. I do not recollect that I ever heard of his making a speech, and, so far as my memory serves me, the only topic of national interest on which the public had a seemingly authentic statement of his views was the nomination of Mr. Cleveland in 1892. This he was reported to favor, although most of our politicians professed another preference, because, as he was said to have declared, in substance, "*He* had never found any cause to complain of Mr. Cleveland." Indeed the *cacoethes loquendi* and any real interest in public affairs are very dangerous to a Boss; the immediate predecessor of our present senior Senator, both as Senator and as State-Boss, and who was also afterwards City-Boss, had, while on both thrones, brief and turbulent reigns, closed by decisive overthrows, very largely because he could and would make speeches, and even express opinions in them.

The ordinary duties of a Supreme Boss are both responsible and onerous. He relieves those legal voters of the city who belong to its dominant party of the labor and anxiety involved in choosing candidates for all elective offices, and he renders, in no small measure, the same service to the party of opposition, for patriots of the kind called in New York "Tammany Republicans," are well known in Baltimore. It will be remembered that this function had been already assumed by his former colleagues and himself in 1892, and, in view of the complaint then made by the speaker I have quoted, as to the terms of its exercise, I deem it but just to say that he has, to my knowledge, permitted, and even caused, "young men who aspired to office" to be nominated without his being paid for it, at least in money or by them. In the principal Democratic paper of Baltimore there appeared, some months since, a narrative, in much detail, of his interview

with another magnate, of greater dignity but less real power, namely the President of the United States. According to the account thus published, the latter requested of him "recognition" (in political parlance, a euphemism for some measure of support at public expense) for certain "elements" in their common party, guilty in the past of much disaffection and even insubordination towards the Supreme Boss, but in warm sympathy with the President's reputed views. Our ruler is said to have shown none of that ill-judged bitterness exhibited by Queen Lilliuokalani towards the rebels against her authority, but conceded promptly and gracefully a "reasonable" portion of such "recognition," and soon after the alleged interview, four gentlemen belonging to the Association which I here represent were notified of their selection to serve in the present General Assembly, one as Senator, three as Delegates, from the city of Baltimore. Together with all the other candidates for these or any other offices, they were unanimously nominated by the appropriate Convention; the functions of such bodies in Baltimore, and their relations to the Boss, being closely analogous to those of the old French Parliaments when the King appeared in a *lit de Justice*. No one who knows these gentlemen (and they are well known) needs any assurance from them that they have gone to the legislature absolutely untrammelled by pledges, express or implied, or doubts that, whatever may have been the motives of those who offered them election, their acceptance was dictated by a sense of public duty; indeed, rumor credits the Boss with an expression of perfect indifference as to what bills they might introduce; *he* would "take care," he is currently quoted as saying, of these bills afterwards. It is therefore clear that his act of gracious oblivion was either a matter of pure "comity," or else is to receive its reward from some one other than those immediately favored.

Article 9 of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of Maryland declares:—

"That no power of suspending laws or the execution of laws, unless by, or derived from the Legislature, ought to be exercised or allowed."

"*Nous avons changé tout cela*," and a power of suspending laws or their execution exists in Baltimore, which is in no wise "derived from the Legislature," although the political existence of members of the Legislature is often "derived" from those who exercise this power. On our statute book are laws which seem to prescribe penalties for election frauds, for various forms of gambling and of swindling disguised as gambling, for illicit liquor selling and for maintaining or advertising resorts for sexual immorality, but practically all these pretended crimes are licensed except the one first named, and that is rewarded. In an address which I delivered some years since, at one of the annual meetings of our local Society for the Suppression of Vice, I said, and I now and here repeat: "It is no exaggeration of language to say that saloons and gambling houses and brothels are here nurseries for 'statesmen,' that the active hostility of their keepers is, if not fatal, at least a grave impediment to success in public life; and that men and women who gain their living by habitually breaking the laws have a potent voice in selecting the public servants, who make, interpret and execute those laws. The proprietor of a 'dive' may be of one party or the other; neither enjoys a monopoly of this desirable constituency, but, whatever his politics, he is almost certainly a power at the primaries and a factor in the vote of his precinct; only practical experience can teach how much these facts aggravate the task of bringing him to punishment." The fishing bounties once granted by the national government were defended as fostering a nursery of seamen; we ought not to complain of a mere impunity for the breach of obsolete laws, accorded to those who provide training schools for our future rulers.

Still less can we reasonably object to a service pension, in the form of permanent public employment, awarded to those who have "worked" for the boss or his lieutenants at the polls, and even suffered for them in jail. Of the admirable custom lastly mentioned, a significant illustration has been recently brought to my knowledge. In the year 1887 the Baltimore Reform League prosecuted criminally a large

number of those who had served as judges or clerks of election throughout the city in the autumn of 1886. By a deplorable oversight on the part of the reigning bosses, which has not been repeated, the Assistant State's Attorney was then a lawyer of marked ability and disposed to really bring criminals to justice, and, as a consequence, some twelve or fifteen of the officers mentioned were convicted of fraud in various forms and sent to jail. Moreover the annoying irritability of public opinion at the time, due in some measure to the previous conviction of two of the same set of election judges for a murder, committed after their appointment and just before the election, prevented the Governor receiving orders to pardon them until they had all endured some months of imprisonment. Among these exemplars of loyalty and zeal was a certain clerk of election, who, in July last, was appointed elevator-man at the Post-office Building. This patriot's record was investigated by a special committee of the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland, and by them called to my attention, as President of the Association, and by me to that of the custodian of the building, who is also Collector of Internal Revenue, and the first appointee of the present Administration to an important office in Maryland. My letter to him remained without acknowledgement, but very soon afterwards the newspapers announced that the health of the elevator man, undermined perhaps by his cruel incarceration for about seven months six years before, had failed under the arduous labors of his position, and this he resigned. Within the past month, it has been ascertained that he continues to draw pay from the National Treasury, but his post of duty has been changed to the basement, where he is well enough to act as fireman. The treatment of his case by his superiors exemplifies a kind of devotion to reform, which displays itself upstairs and fades away as the reformer's scene of action disappears from public view. Doubtless this spirit has its merits, but it awakens in me a qualified enthusiasm.

A very important "condition" of municipal government in Baltimore is the "Grandmother's Fund." As I am away

from home, it may be well to explain that this is not a particular sum of money committed to a designated custodian, but represents the aggregate proceeds of various kinds of tribute levied upon the community by its real, as contradistinguished from its nominal, rulers. This tribute includes assessments on office-holders and candidates for office, "benevolences" from contractors doing work or furnishing supplies of any kind to the City or State or institutions under public control, the price of franchises and privileges and special legislation of every kind, whether from the City Council, or the General Assembly, the amounts contributed by corporations when subjected to a process known technically as "plugging," and the ransom paid by criminals of all sorts and especially, as I have endeavored to explain, by policy players, brothel keepers and offenders against the liquor laws, for impunity. It will be readily seen that great tact and judgment, as well as vigilance, must be displayed in this work of levy, for, such is the selfishness of human nature, that hardly one of those tithable would hesitate to evade payment of even the most moderate subsidy could he do so with safety, and, on the other hand, here as elsewhere, business will be checked by a prohibitory tariff. It is, moreover, necessary to "size up" each "job" separately before this is undertaken, for the circumstances and the disposition of the person "struck" will often determine whether or how hard to strike him.

To study the Supreme Boss, his rivals, his followers and his revenue is to learn something of the true conditions of municipal government in Baltimore; he can say with Louis XIV., and with much the same measure of truth: "*L'Etat c'est moi*;" he embodies and typifies those influences which have made the city's politics what they are, just as the Great Monarch embodied and typified the absolutism of his time and country. Any one Boss may lose power, or die or grow virtuous when he is rich enough and wishes to get into good society, but while his environment remains what it is he will surely have a successor. Every people has had and will have always as good a government as it deserves.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF PHILADELPHIA.

By GEORGE GLUYAS MERCER.

Philadelphia is fortunate to-day in the possession of a form of government which, although not theoretically perfect, is nevertheless one of the best and most striking illustrations of the changes effected by the legislation of the past decade in the charters of American cities, in accordance with modern ideas of municipal institutions. By the Act of June 1, 1885, popularly known as the "Bullitt Bill," in recognition of the distinguished services of a public-spirited citizen in its behalf, a separation is made between the legislative and executive branches of the city government; a Mayor, elected for the term of four years, and ineligible for the next succeeding term, is made the real head of the government; the executive power is concentrated in him; and he has authority to appoint and remove the most important directors of subordinate departments, who are responsible to him, while he is himself responsible for his administration to the people who elect him.

This form of government is certainly in striking contrast to that established by our great-grandfathers, in whom, as true Philadelphians, we take great pride, and who placed city affairs in the hands of Commissioners. A century ago our law-makers were much afraid of what was called "one man power," which was thought to be unrepblican in principle, and fraught with danger to popular government. While, however, no wise man will maintain that any existing political institution can justify its permanent existence merely because of its antiquity, or its usefulness in time past, so neither will he condemn any such institution that seems well adapted to our present needs, because, in other times and under other circumstances, its influence was vicious, or

because, in the hands of bad men, it might be turned to evil purposes.

The wisdom of this modern policy of a concentration of the power and responsibility in one head has already been shown by the practical administration of our city government in accordance with this plan, and, if any further change be made in the form of the municipal government of Philadelphia, it will undoubtedly be in the direction of a development of this theory to the extent originally intended, rather than in the direction of a return to the antiquated forms that we formerly endured.

A brief experience has shown that this form of municipal government is that under which the citizens can exercise the most effective control over their own executive affairs. The Mayor, being directly responsible to the people, whose approval of his administration must ever be his highest reward, is at all times willing to listen to their wishes, when clearly and intelligently expressed, and more than once has Philadelphia had reason to be thankful when the executive veto, made in compliance with the demand of her citizens, has saved her from the consequences of pernicious legislation. The people, realizing that the character of the city government for a long period will be determined by the character of the man whom they choose for Mayor, take a deeper interest in municipal elections, and are enabled to discharge their duties as electors more intelligently when their vote at the polls indicates merely the selection of one out of two or three names of men well known to them. Indeed, I can think of nothing more discouraging to the independent voter than the necessity of filling, at a municipal election, a score or more of different offices, by casting ballots for a large number of men of whose character and capacity the voter can have no information whatever. By thus making it impossible for the electors to discriminate intelligently, corrupt party leaders perpetuate their own power. Moreover, with such ample powers and opportunities as those now possessed by the Mayor of this city, the office is one of the highest honor and importance, and worthy of the ambition of any citizen, and,

at each of the two elections for Mayor under the new charter, the selection has fallen upon a worthy citizen of the highest character. If, however, at any future election for Mayor, the voters of the city should become as apathetic as they frequently are at councilmanic elections, and in consequence thereof an unworthy man, nominated at the dictation of unprincipled party leaders, should be elected as Chief Magistrate of the city for four long years, with the large executive powers now vested in that high office, the "Bullitt Bill" would undergo a test to which it has not yet been subjected.

The Mayor of Philadelphia, while thus possessing larger power than is held by the Mayors of many other American cities, has, however, no authority to appoint the Receiver of Taxes and City Treasurer, and, consequently, cannot be held responsible for the administration of those important executive departments. His appointments, moreover, are subject to the approval of Select Council, which results in an unfortunate division of responsibility. On the whole, however, it may be said that the Executive Department of the City Government is wisely and honestly administered, and that the people have abundant confidence not only in our present Mayor, but in the able members of his Cabinet who direct the departments of public safety and public works. Perhaps no municipal administration could better serve the public interests except one absolutely non-partisan, and based upon the fundamental principle of the Municipal League, that municipal affairs should be separated from state and national politics. Two examples of the pernicious effects of the opposite doctrine may be observed in this city at the present time: one in the personnel of the municipal civil service; the other in the assessment of municipal office-holders for party purposes.

The Act of June 1, 1885, made it the duty of the Mayor and heads of departments to make "regulations providing for the ascertainment of the comparative fitness of all applicants for appointment or promotion, by a systematic, open and competitive examination of such applicants" (with certain exceptions specified in the Act). The plain intent of the

statute was to give every citizen an equal chance to obtain an appointment ; to secure for the municipality the best possible service by appointing those only who, after competitive examination, prove to be the most capable ; and, as the act forbids any personal solicitation in favor of an applicant, to exclude all favoritism, and thus check the corruption and demoralization of the public service resulting from the bestowal of offices as rewards or bribes for political support.

The "Civil Service Rules" made in pursuance of this authority provide, among other things, (1) that the "Civil Service Board" shall be composed of the officials whose conduct it is intended to guide and control ; (2) that all examiners shall be appointed by the said board or its chairman ; (3) that, instead of admitting all applicants to the competitive examinations, the Examiners shall not admit any one unless his application shall have been first presented in person to the head of a department and forwarded by that official to the examiners ; and (4) that, when the head of a department is about to make an appointment, he may select any one of the five eligibles on a list composed exclusively of those whose original application he has previously received and forwarded to the examiners. With such regulations as these, it would seem strange if both applications and appointments were not pretty closely confined to the henchmen of the party in power, and, if the spirit of the Act of Assembly has been in any degree observed, it has been because many of our executive officers are much better than their rules require.

The "Civil Service Rules" also provide that "No person in the public service shall be required to contribute to any political fund," but the fact remains that the policemen, firemen, and municipal officers generally, do contribute largely to the support of the party in power, and that, while their superiors seek to make it appear that such contributions are voluntary, the subordinates know full well that if their assessments are not paid their official places will be in danger. This state of affairs receives at least the tacit approval of the higher municipal officials ; it tends to the corruption of the public service, and it will never cease until the passage of

some Civil Service Act, which shall make the solicitation, receipt or gift of any political assessment a misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment, as is done by the United States Civil Service Act.

The Constitution of Pennsylvania, by forbidding the creation of municipal commissions, prohibiting all special legislation, and limiting the power of municipalities to contract debts, has promoted the cause of municipal reform, which has been further advanced by the Reform Ballot Laws of 1889 and 1893.

However encouraging it may be to note such reforms, truth compels the confession that no such progress can be recorded in respect to the legislative department of our city government. Here nothing can be observed but retrogression. In olden times Philadelphia numbered among her municipal legislators many of her best and ablest men; to-day it is difficult to induce citizens of high character to stand for such an office. The people no longer select their public servants. Political conventions are ruled by unprincipled party leaders, who dictate the nomination of such men as will serve their selfish purposes. Proper performance of public duties has become a barrier to political advancement.

I have the authority of a leading member of Councils for the statement that there are not as many men of character and ability in our municipal legislature to-day as there were ten years ago. During that decade, moreover, the amount of municipal expenditures has been trebled, and municipal legislation has become of supreme importance. Hon. Seth Low has said that it is probable "the city of Philadelphia in recent years has lost by theft and dishonesty on the part of its officials more money than the United States, with its immensely larger transactions, has lost in the same interval." * The amount lost in this way, however, is small as compared with the indirect loss occasioned by the improvident and reckless grants of public franchises without sufficient compensation to the city. In the franchises granted to street-

* Address delivered before the Committee of Fifty on Jan. 27, 1892, just after the exposure of the Bardsley defalcations.

railway companies in the cities of Great Britain and of the European continent, the government provides for adequate compensation to the municipality, and reserves to itself the right to regulate the transportation of passengers, and to purchase the entire plant, either at any time, or at the end of a fixed period. All large American cities have been shortsighted in their grant of these franchises, but Philadelphia is pre-eminent in this regard, and, during the past few years, our City Councils have passed, over the Mayor's veto, ordinances granting to private corporations franchises worth millions of money, and from which the city ought to have derived for years to come a large amount of revenue. The very men who have been elected to protect the interests of the city have sacrificed those interests in the most shameless way, and the disgrace has been felt all the more keenly because their meetings have been held in Independence Hall, a place that ought ever to be to all Americans as sacred as a house of prayer, but which has oftentimes seemed more like a den of thieves. God speed the day when those who buy and sell shall be cast out of that holy temple of liberty !

One reason why our municipal legislature numbers among its members many unworthy men is, in my judgment, because Councilmen receive no compensation for their public services. In this respect Philadelphia may learn a profitable lesson from her sister cities of Baltimore and St. Louis, although the salaries in the latter city are altogether too small. The duties of a Councilman are onerous, and demand more time than most men, engaged in earning a living for themselves and their families, can afford to give gratuitously to the public service. The result of our foolish economy in this particular is to make this office attractive to only two classes of men : those who are wealthy enough to serve without salary, and those who accept the office knowing what opportunities it affords for plunder and determined to make the most of it for themselves. There is no intention to intimate that there are no men in Councils both poor and honest. What is asserted is that the office is not attractive to such men, who find too often that they must neglect either their

own business or that of the city. It is probably not too much to say that the member of Councils who attends regularly and faithfully to his public duties must devote at least one half of his time to the work, and there are few business men who can afford to do this without pay. It is submitted, therefore, that the present system excludes from the legislative service of the city the very men who would make the best law-makers, and places before men who are poor and weak a temptation that results in the corruption of our public service, and a consequent loss to the city many times greater than the cost of the salaries suggested. Let no one suppose that this paper advocates the acceptance of public office by any one for the sake of the pay. Whenever the salary attached to a public office is so great as to cause that office to be sought by men whose chief aim is gain, the result is demoralizing to the office-holder and disastrous to the city. Although the abuses of the fee-system have, for the most part, been abolished, the salaries attached to many of our city offices are even now much too high, and it is believed that, if some of these salaries could be reduced and the money thus saved could be applied to the payment of moderate salaries to Councilmen, the result would be of large benefit to the city. While it is true that every man who is summoned by the vote of his fellow-citizens to a public position should find his chief satisfaction in the honor of such service, yet "the laborer is worthy of his hire," and there seems no good reason why a member of Councils should be asked to serve without compensation any more than any other public servant. To this reform it would be well if we could add the election of the city legislature on a general ticket instead of by wards, thus enlarging the field of choice among good citizens. These two changes seem far more important to the cause of municipal reform than the retention of the bicameral system, which has already been abolished in some of our sister cities.

What Mr. Low calls "the great unsolved organic problem in connection with municipal government in the United States" is that which concerns the legislative branch of city government. The abuse of their powers by these local

legislators is to-day the chief reason why we are reluctantly forced to admit the truth of the statements of Mr. Andrew D. White, that "American cities are the worst governed in the world," and of Prof. James Bryce, that "the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States." This is the chief problem before this National Conference for Good City Government. This is the problem to which, in Philadelphia, the Municipal League must first direct its earnest attention. Whatever other steps are taken towards its solution, the first should be the inculcation upon the minds and consciences of the people of the wisdom and justice of our demand for non-partisan municipal government. The national platforms and policies of the Republican and Democratic parties have nothing whatsoever to do with the conduct of city affairs, and the sole object of a municipal election is the selection of men of capacity and integrity to manage the business of the municipality. "The purification of our city governments," says Mr. John Fiske, "will never be completed until they are entirely divorced from national party politics."

In the propagation of this doctrine, the Municipal League stands not alone in Philadelphia. Foremost among its allies is the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, under whose auspices Prof. Fiske is now lecturing. This Society, recognizing that the public end of education is to make enlightened, patriotic, public-spirited citizens, is offering to the people of this city extended courses of lectures on Civics, which can not fail to aid our cause, and the American Institute of Civics, represented, I am glad to say, at this Conference, is doing a like service for the country at large. The Wharton School of Finance and Economy is also engaged in this patriotic work. From the University of Pennsylvania, and from other colleges throughout our country, young men are going abroad to study municipal institutions, and are bringing back to the new world the wisdom of the old. Thus we are expanding our horizon and enlarging our experience by bringing ourselves in contact with men of other countries. We have at length out-grown, it is to be

hoped, that shallow form of patriotism, in vogue in times past, which forbade us to speak truthfully of our own defects, and which found its chief work in teaching American youth that the American flag was the handsomest, and the American republic the biggest, on earth, and that American forms of government were inherently admirable and necessarily superior to all others. To-day, with larger wisdom, we are beginning to realize that the greatest gain to all nations is to be reached through interdependence and not by independence; and that the selfish isolation, either of men or nations, postpones that millennial day, when all shall recognize "the fatherhood of God over all and the brotherhood of man."

Last, but not least, among our allies, is to be noted the newly-organized "Civic Club," whose object is to develop a new force in the body politic by awakening the public spirit of the women of Philadelphia, in order to secure, through their organized action, greater honesty and efficiency in the administration of city affairs. Undoubtedly women can have, if they will, a tremendous influence in politics by dwelling, not upon the rights, but upon the duties, of voters. If every woman would influence her father, husband, brother, son, friend, to recognize his sacred duty to go to the polls and vote in favor of non-partisan municipal government, what a power she might exert! This question, like the slavery question, is a moral issue of the highest moment, and in all such matters the influence of women should be supreme. Moreover, our hope is in the generation to come, and the best service woman can do is to instil right principles into the minds of children.

Finally, however theoretically excellent may be our Charter, however good our form of government, however perfect our political machine, history teaches that we must not attach too much importance to any of these things. The essential consideration is by what men and in what spirit our government is to be conducted. If the men we elect are men of character and ability, and if their spirit is that of "righteousness which exalteth a nation," there need be no fear.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF NEW YORK.

BY EDMOND KELLY, NEW YORK.

New York does not differ, I think, from other cities of the United States in one respect: instead of being governed, as it theoretically should, by an enlightened and disinterested majority of its citizens, it is governed by an ignorant and interested minority. How this comes to pass and how it can be corrected constitutes the political problem of municipal government.

If our municipal government were, as is sometimes contended, truly representative of our majorities, our task, though still not to be abandoned, would assuredly be one of almost hopeless magnitude; it would mean that we had a work of education to do which in some cities like New York, with a perpetual accession to it of a large foreign vote, would probably never be accomplished. It is above all things important, therefore, at the very outset, to point out that the Ring which actually governs the city is composed of comparatively few men, so few indeed that they present a picture as humiliating for us as that of the handful of British soldiers that keeps in subjection and awe the millions of the Indian Empire. Tammany, which enjoys to-day control of our municipal offices, has not more than twenty-seven thousand rewards to give in the shape of employment, including every office from that of Mayor to the street sweeper; and yet Tammany's main strength is supposed to consist of the spoils which it has to distribute. It is inconceivable that Tammany could bring two hundred thousand votes to the polls out of three hundred thousand, if twenty-seven thousand places constituted the only reason for its strength.

The control of Tammany in the city of New York is built upon a much larger and more pernicious principle—the

principle of blackmail. Every statute which imposes a duty upon our citizens is made by Tammany to serve a double purpose. From those who consent to support the Tammany regime, license to violate our ordinances secures loyalty; from those who refuse to support the Tammany regime, such license extracts tribute; so that whether our laws are good or bad, they all serve to keep Tammany in power. Bad ordinances, which forbid the use of the sidewalk, when in some cases such use is indispensable to the transaction of business; debatable ordinances, such as those closing the liquor saloons throughout the whole of Sunday, and altogether good ordinances, such as our building laws and those affecting the public health, are all so mis-executed as to give Tammany a clutch upon our business men, which, in the case of the liquor trade alone, is estimated to control directly not less than thirty thousand votes, and indirectly as many more.

The power of the Ring then seems to depend upon its ability to play upon our hopes and fears—hopes of office and fears of persecution. Now this is a force which can not be depended upon, because, for every hope that is gratified there are a dozen hopes disappointed; and for every citizen that can be kept in subjection by fear, there are a hundred that will be driven by it to revolt. Tammany is like the giant in the pantomime—mostly cardboard; and like all theatrical people inspires terror only because its victims do not know how it is made up. I go further and say that the inherent weakness of Tammany is mathematicclly demonstrable; for in every civilized community the majority desires good government and those who seek public office for private gain must by the very nature of things constitute a small minority; such men prey upon the body politic; they are brigands; now has the world ever seen a community in which the brigands were more numerous than those on which they prey? Is it not an essential feature of brigandage that the brigands be few and the victims many? And so we are irresistibly driven to the conclusion that all municipal Rings must in their very nature constitute a minority—and a contemptible minority at that—of our voting population.

Why then is it that such Rings contrive to secure, year after year, overwhelming majorities at the polls?

It is because the majority is neither united nor organized; because it is in part kept under subjection by timidity and in part divided by party issues; because it never occupies itself about its political duties except at election time, and imagines that in a few days the hare can win a race that the tortoise has been running all the year.

And so the success of Tammany depends not so much upon its strength as upon our weakness; upon its ability to play upon our hopes and fears; to keep us inactive during the year and on election day divide us along the line of national parties.

The remedy is clear; it is two-fold. We must unite on the principle that municipal government can be separated from party politics, and organize so as to give expression to this principle at the polls. Let us consider for a moment what has been already done in New York in this direction.

In 1891 the outlook for good government in New York was hopeless in the extreme. The People's Municipal League, organized on the same lines as your own league in Philadelphia, had failed to elect its candidate for the Mayoralty, and the control which Tammany then obtained was in 1892 completed by a sweep of every municipal office and the control of both houses in Albany. The discouragement which attended the failure of the People's Municipal League made all efforts at reorganizing a reform movement on purely political lines impossible. The conviction had come home to us that amateurs could not successfully fight organized battalions, and that any new efforts must be made upon a permanent plan that would drill our forces throughout the year. Such a plan was projected by a small group of young men known as the City Reform Club, which had for six years published an annual Record of the City Assemblymen and Senators and occasionally called attention to the scandals of our city government. This little body suggested that a social club be organized to provide a permanent home for municipal reformers; a place where they could meet in moments of

leisure; where permanent committees could report on fixed days of the week, and where those interested in sound municipal government might on critical occasions with confidence repair. This idea found favor with a few public-spirited and wealthy citizens, and the so-called City Club established its headquarters in October, 1892, with a membership of nearly seven hundred and upon a self-supporting basis from the start. It proceeded at once to organize permanent standing Committees for the purpose of dealing with municipal questions.

Its Legislative Committee, composed of distinguished lawyers, met weekly to consider bills affecting the City before the Legislature at Albany.

Its Committee on Municipal Government, divided roughly into as many Sub-Committees as there are city departments, met to study the workings of these departments and report on the abuses therein.

The Committee on Co-operation and Affiliated Clubs undertook the organization of so-called Good Government Clubs, the expenses of which should be graded to the character of the neighborhood in which each was situated, with the view of reaching men in every degree of wealth or poverty.

During the first year of its existence the City Club could do no more than win its spurs; this it succeeded in doing on numerous occasions, so that in the November campaign of 1893 the Good Government Club system was able to secure the election of two of its candidates and to poll its fair third in a three-cornered fight in the 21st district.

The numerous occasions on which the City Club has stood to the community for improvement in municipal affairs, the distinguished men whose names appear on our committees, the election of two Assemblymen on whom we can absolutely rely, the spread of the doctrine that municipal government can be rescued from national parties if the citizens will only insist thereupon, have achieved this for the City Club: that whatever be the subject raised in connection with municipal government, whether it be scandals in the police department, abuses in the corporation attorney's office

or proposed legislation at Albany, the first question asked, not only by our own supporters, but by those who belong to rival political organizations, has come to be "What is the City Club going to do about it?" And as regards the results so far secured we may point to the preparation at our Club House by a committee composed of representatives of almost every political organization in the city, of a ballot bill which has commanded the approval of the entire press, is now in the hands of our candidates, Messrs. Sheffield and Lawson, and has a fair chance of becoming law this session. Other committees upon which we find such names as Seth Low and Abram S. Hewitt are diligently engaged in preparing measures for the separation of municipal elections from State elections, to come before our Constitutional Convention in the Spring; and last but not least, the Brooklyn Democratic Club in Brooklyn and the Republican Union League Club in New York have publicly espoused the doctrine that municipal government can and should be separated from national politics.

But this is not all; there is a split in the Democratic party of New York. Tammany has ceased to be the only Democratic organization in the city. Those Democrats who in spite of Tammany Hall secured the nomination of Cleveland in 1892, have formed a party of their own. The Republicans too have caught the infection of reform and are trying to slough off that element which is suspected to have been in treacherous complicity with Tammany, and the new Democratic and Republican parties, representing as they do a desire for good government, are now actually, though to some extent unconsciously, co-operating with us to this end; the idea that New York must and shall have a Mayor worthy of us has taken possession of the minds of men, and all look to the City Club and its Good Government Club system as the neutral ground where that Mayor can next November be nominated and elected.

In order to convey an adequate conception of our movement in New York, I must add a few words regarding our Good Government Club system. If the City Club is the head,

heart and centre of our organization, the Good Government Clubs are its executive limbs ; we have seven of these clubs, of which four are in full swing and three still in process of organization ; the total membership of the whole system amounts to two thousand one hundred and sixty-one.

Just what is to be the scope of the work of these Clubs has not yet been fully determined ; so far, they have been confined to purely political work. I venture to entertain the hope that a recognition of the complexity of the problem before us, will induce us to extend the scope of our efforts so as to embrace the questions which confront us as a whole, and by not confining ourselves to a part only, condemn ourselves to no more than a partial success. It is impossible to handle this work understanding intimately the forces which are opposed to us ; nor is it possible in dealing with these matters to treat them as theories or as generalities ; we must deal with them as facts and in detail. To do this, let us consider for a moment just what is the power exerted by that unit of Ring rule—the local boss, and how he exercises it.

The secret of his power consists in the fact that he renews in this country the methods by which the Patrician in Rome acquired his control ; his relation to his constituents is no other than that of the Roman Patrician to his *clientes*. The plan is simple, and the effect sure. The Tammany police engaged in executing the City Ordinances on those who do not pay either in money or service, bring daily to Court a batch of misdemeanants ; it is here the retailer before whose door his wagon has been stationed too long ; there a street vendor who has, without Tammany's leave, dared to occupy the sidewalk ; here a plumber who has ventured to plumb without passing the rigorous city examination ; there a matron who has emptied her slops upon the passer by. One and all are at once taken by the local leader under his protection ; before a Tammany Justice, a few words from the great man suffice to secure the immediate discharge—and future loyalty of the delinquent.

But this is not all. The local leader is an employment bureau ; he has his share of city offices ; Tammany con-

tractors are in touch with him ; so is the Commissioner of Public Works ; so is the Commissioner of Street Cleaning ; and to-day that the cries of the unemployed have reached the ear of our millionaires, let me assure them that their relief committees do not together contribute half as much to the needy as the Tammany Clubs, which succeed for the most part in keeping their gifts out of the newspapers. They do not need the encouragement or the recognition of the press. With the coffers of the city at their disposal—and the proceeds of political blackmail—they can outdo us in the work of charity, because to them this charity is seed sown ; but, alas, while it is they that sow the wind, it is we who reap the whirlwind ; for the difference between their system and ours is this, that their philanthropy goes hand in hand with their politics, whereas our philanthropy is cunningly devised so as to leave behind its little gratitude, little sense of obligation and not a single political principle. Is this wise or right ? The immigrant voter is a stranger in a strange land, speaking a strange language, with no political sense and no political education ; into whose hands is he to fall ? Into those of machine politicians who can only corrupt him, or into the hands of an intelligent propaganda which will lift him out of his needs into a sense of his personal dignity and of his political responsibilities. I do not believe in divorcing philanthropy from politics. Philanthropy, politics and religion should be all engaged in teaching the same lesson—self-government ; in doing the same work—lifting up the poor ; and by the poor I do not mean those only that are poor in pocket ; I mean also those that are poor in the qualities which go to make up a man and a citizen. I believe the municipal evil to be a many-headed one ; we must simultaneously attack all the heads, or while we are subduing one we shall become victims to the other. I see the forces tending towards evil co-operating with fatal concentration ; I see those tending towards good dissipated with fatuous indifference ; I contend that when we take the hand of a fellow-creature to lift him out of want, poverty or crime, we should not let go his hand till we have raised him to the

level of the franchise, which he is destined to exercise. And this is what I believe to be the ultimate mission of our Good Government Clubs.

The opinion widely prevails that the work of politics is vulgar ; that no man can engage in it without demeaning himself ; now, gentlemen, this depends upon how he sets to work about it ; whether he lowers himself to the level where it now is, or whether he undertakes to raise it to the level where it should be. Do you think this last impossible ? Think for a moment how Hercules cleaned out the stables of Augean. Did he lower his divine hand to the loathsome task ? No. Hard by those stables flowed the water of the Alpheus ; with a few mighty strokes he diverted its bed ; he poured its waters through the putrid mass, and in an hour the accumulation of thirty years was carried out by the cleansing current to the sea. No other is our task ; hard by the accumulating putrescence of local politics all these years have flowed the lives of our earnest citizens ; let them no longer pass unconcerned beside this crying evil ; let us but once divert them from private interests to the common good, and, in a single day, with no greater effort than the intelligent exercise of their political franchises, municipal corruption will be whirled by a torrent of public opinion to that wholesome sea, which receives from us all our offscourings however foul and bad, only to return to us breezes of health and hope.

CITY GOVERNMENT AS IT SHOULD BE AND
MAY BECOME.

BY LEO S. ROWE, PHILADELPHIA.

The mere mention of the shortcomings of our city government recalls a recent comment of the Mayor of Berlin. "With your standard of political education," he said, "your highly-developed business capacities and unparalleled material resources I had pictured to myself an intensity of municipal activity which would be a constant source of inspiration to our European municipalities. That we should have outstripped you, both as regards efficiency and economy, is to me the greatest anomaly in the history of modern political institutions." The contrast between what *was expected* and what *we have actually developed* in our local institutions could hardly have been brought out more clearly. The great chasm between the views of De Toqueville and Bryce is only to be explained by the change in social conditions the last half century has witnessed. In 1837, when De Toqueville wrote, we had but two cities with a population exceeding 100,000; in 1887, when the *American Commonwealth* appeared, the number of such cities had increased fourteen-fold; the one had before him a people of rural tastes and habits; the other found the health and happiness of a large percentage of the population dependent upon the changed conditions of city life.

At this point the query naturally arises, "Have our methods of government kept pace with these changes? have the states as well as our urban population fully recognized the true nature of municipal problems? Upon this question the experience of foreign cities throws a very helpful light, provided we do not confuse two radically distinct notions, namely: the possibility of profiting by another's experience, and the necessity of imitating the exact forms through which

certain desirable ends have been attained. We must see *what* they are accomplishing and *why* they have solved a mass of problems which our cities have either avoided or failed adequately to meet. It is only after this has been done that the study of the *how*, the details of administrative organization become of interest. I do not mean to underestimate the importance of administrative forms. The history of municipal government in America, and more particularly that of Philadelphia, speak clearly enough to make such a position untenable. The point I do wish to make, however, is that as regards mere administrative forms, foreign cities have but little to teach us; that the two best governed cities in the world—Birmingham and Berlin—when judged from a purely administrative standpoint, are opened to much of the adverse criticism bestowed upon American municipalities. In short, the ultimate factors of efficiency are not to be found in this or that administrative detail, for the form transplanted to American soil would, under present conditions, beget evils far greater than those we now complain of. Back of all forms we must look for certain general principles, which determine the character of every department of municipal activity. To ascertain what these principles are is my purpose.

We have, all of us, our ideas of municipal life. Beyond the complex of purely material services there looms up a mass of social, intellectual and artistic pleasures to be derived from an intense municipal life. In the present stage of the discussion, however, it is absolutely necessary to keep within the bounds of concrete pictures. It is not difficult to find examples of peculiar efficiency in one or two departments. Chicago boasts of its system of parks; every American city points with pride to its fire department; some think they have the most highly developed system of public education. There are three cities, however, occupying privileged positions in the history of modern municipalities—Birmingham, Paris and Berlin. For our purposes Berlin is by far the most interesting. The problems solved by the English municipality are hardly comparable, in magnitude, to our own. The

French capital on the other hand, while offering a most remarkable example of efficiency in certain fields, has utterly failed in others. It is not a municipality in the true sense of the word. Self-government has never, since the time of Napoleon, found a place in its system. It is practicably governed by the State and therefore lacks that internal vigor which is the very first requisite of municipal efficiency. Berlin, however, stands nearest to the ordinary ideals of municipal life. It is the most uniformly developed of modern municipalities. No one department stands forth as the star attraction, but a uniform measure of efficiency is to be found in all. This alone is conclusive proof that the same general principles have been the determining factors in all. Furthermore, strange as it may seem, there is no other European city offering so close analogies with our own conditions. Berlin is thoroughly modern. It was confronted with the great problems of municipal government under conditions far less favorable than those of the vast majority of our American cities. Germany offered it no precedents in the solution of such problems; inasmuch as a great centre of population was a thing as unknown to them as to us. In 1865 Berlin and Philadelphia had about the same population. To-day Berlin leads by more than 500,000 and were we to include the immediate suburbs, which are in reality a part of the city, the excess would be nearly 1,000,000. In fact, as regards growth of population, Chicago offers the only parallel. Thus one of the most common arguments in defense of American cities, namely, the lack of precedents, is deprived of its main force. Furthermore, physical conditions in Berlin were far less favorable than in New York, Philadelphia or Chicago. No natural system of drainage, no easily accessible water supply, coal comparatively expensive; all these conditions tended greatly to complicate its problems.

Finally we come to what is, in last analysis, the most important of the determining conditions in the municipal life of Berlin, viz.: that the efficiency of the city administrations is due, primarily, neither to the Prussian Monarchy nor to the Prussian Bureaucracy. It was the will, the consciously

expressed will of the people of Berlin that determined the character of their municipality. Judged from this standpoint Berlin is more democratic than either New York or Philadelphia. In fact, few modern cities have enjoyed so large a measure of self-government. What it has accomplished, and why it has accomplished so much must therefore be of more than passing interest. In order not to be misled by secondary considerations, we must always keep in mind the four great principles and influences, which have each contributed their share in shaping the attitude of the population of Berlin towards their city government. We, in United States, have been accustomed to look upon the municipality as a minor branch of the State government; a creature of the State Legislature, dependent upon the will of the latter for its corporate existence, and with few, if any, adequate guarantees against constant and minute interference. All powers are expressly delegated. No general sphere of action distinctively municipal is recognized, and as a corollary to this, no clear distinction is made between the functions exercised by the municipality in its capacity of agent for the central government, and in its purely corporate character. In considering the Prussian system of municipal government, we must place ourselves at an entirely different point of view. Our concept of the municipality has never found a place in the Prussian system. The history of the "Free Cities" of Germany was in itself a great moral lesson. The reformers of 1808 clearly recognized the necessity of permitting municipalities to solve their own problems. It is difficult to express in words the moral effects of this policy. The feeling that they, the inhabitants of the city, were the *only agents for the attainment of every municipal end*, contributed in no small degree to that deep interest in municipal affairs so characteristic of Berlin life.

The second principle which has played a most important part in the history of Berlin, may be briefly call *obligatory municipal service*. We are so accustomed to hear the rights of citizens dilated upon, that the question of corresponding duties is often lost sight of. The leading characteristic of

Prussian political history, has been the emphasis of civic duty as antecedent to and determining civic rights. This has given to Prussia the principle of obligatory municipal service. The mass of honorary or unsalaried offices, so characteristic of local government in Prussia, is made possible by the fact that the acceptance of such office is pronounced by law to be the legal duty of every citizen. Refusal to accept the same without adequate excuse (such as contemporaneous public office, age over sixty years, or special dispensation by the city council), carries with it the loss of the electoral franchise and an increase of direct city taxes ranging from 12½ to 25 per cent. Although at first the source of some dissatisfaction, it has gradually become a part of the ethical concept of citizenship.

The third principle, which is of primary importance, especially in the earlier stages of a city's progress, is closely related to the social side of German life. It is that utilitarian calculus of pleasures and pains which is the great incentive to effort in public, no less than in private life. In the first place, the German expects more from his municipality than does the average American. For reasons, into which we can not enter at present, his home life is less highly developed, his social instincts are stronger, and he is therefore very much more sensitive to anything that might detract from, or hamper those pleasures of social as distinguished from those of home life.

Finally we have to take into consideration the "three-class" system of voting in State as well as in municipal elections. This gives to the wealthier classes the directing voice in municipal affairs. The importance of this principle, especially in its application to American conditions, is easily overestimated. It has undoubtedly contributed much towards that strict economy in the financial administration of Berlin, which at times has even been carried to ridiculous extremes.

We have now before us the explanation of the close relation existing between the government and the population of Berlin. It is hardly necessary to add that, besides these

four, other influences have been at work. The character of political institutions is determined by circumstances reaching into every field of human activity. Thus, without the admirable civil service of Prussia, which naturally found its counterpart in the city administration, it would have been impossible to grapple with some of the problems which Berlin has solved. Many improvements are due to the fact that it is the seat of government and the residence of the royal family. But granting to all these conditions the full measure of their importance, it nevertheless remains true, that the great and leading cause which has determined the efficiency of every municipal department has been this general interest of all classes in municipal affairs. To trace the direct effect is naturally more difficult in some departments than in others; but it is traceable in all.

To the casual observer the first, and often only, criterion for judging the efficiency of any city administration is the condition of its streets. The physical and moral health of all, and the personal happiness of great numbers are so intimately connected with the condition of the public highways, that the test, while somewhat crude, is, when consistently applied, fairly exact. That Berlin is the most uniformly clean of the great cities is beyond all doubt. By "most uniformly clean," I mean the general condition of all the streets; not merely the great central thoroughfares, nor the wealthy residence districts. At Paris, where the State practically governs the city, and where no feeling of solidarity has been developed, only those districts which are constantly before the eyes of the public receive sufficient attention. The German method is more consistent and less superficial. The real reason why the citizen of Berlin, be he high or low, awakes to find every section of the city thoroughly swept and cleansed, is to be found in the keen interest evinced by all classes in the condition of the streets. When the feeling that a particular service is to determine whether city life is to be pleasant or intolerable, becomes deeply rooted, it is certain that the particular service in question will be performed in the most efficient manner. With the characteristics

of German social life already mentioned, it was very natural that the true nature of the problem of street-making as well as street-cleaning should have been recognized very early in the history of the city. Thoroughly to sweep and cleanse every street and, what is of equal importance, delicately, to adjust such operations to the wants and comforts of the population, must be the result of long development. The technical nature of many of these operations, requiring the directing hand of a scientifically trained expert, made it seem a matter of course that his position should be assured for life, and that he was to have full power in determining the policy to be pursued. To hold him to strict accountability for the efficiency of his department was but the final link in the chain of logical organization. The present system of street-cleaning in Berlin is the result of over seven years careful development by its present director. He is aided by a corps of trained inspectors and a permanent body of over seven hundred scavengers, increased as occasion may require. All, director as well as scavenger, hold office during good behavior, and are entitled to the regular pensions of city officials. This organization has made possible the execution of carefully-planned systems, requiring many years for their development. The control exercised through criticism, and positive information furnished by ordinary citizens, is, according to the personal testimony of the director, one of his most valuable aids in judging of the peculiar requirements of different districts.

To examine into the other departments would mean a repetition of the general methods of procedure we have just seen realized. Through them Berlin has obtained, under the most difficult circumstances, a water supply which for purity as well as abundance, stands among the highest.

A system of drainage has been gradually developed, which has made Berlin one of the healthiest cities in the world. A magnificent system of markets has been built by the city with a view towards beautifying less favored districts, and what is more important, the effect upon prices has been such as greatly to aid the poor in the difficult problem

of buying in small quantities at reasonable rates. The excellent quality of gas furnished by the city gas works is not too high at little over one dollar per 1000 cubic feet, when we take into consideration the enormous revenue which the city treasury derives from this source. The untold misery which has been either avoided or relieved by the "*Municipal Pawn-broking Institute*," the beneficial effects of the "*Municipal Mortgage Loan Institute*" and the "*Fire Insurance Institute*" you must picture to yourselves.

Before closing, I wish to say a word or two concerning the city's financial condition. It is with a feeling of positive relief that one turns to Berlin's finances after having examined those of the other large cities. The harmonious development of its various municipal departments is mirrored here. A large income is derived from the city's public works; no franchises are granted without adequate returns, while the system of taxation is by far the nearest approach to the modern scientific ideal. If it be possible to grade such benefits, it is here that Berlin has derived the greatest advantage, from its situation in a country like Prussia. The system of State Taxation and Finances invariably finds either its counterpart or complement in the finances of the municipalities. Through its productive industrial undertakings, especially the railroads, Prussia has been able to reduce its burden of taxation, and at the same time to develop an income tax, which is more perfectly adjusted to "ability to pay" than any other country has been able to attain. The admirable civil service system was the *sine qua non* to the realization of these reforms. With it Berlin has gradually converted its system of indirect to one of direct taxation. Both personal and real property contribute their share. A highly developed income tax yields about 25 per cent. of the total income; a house and a rent tax furnish an additional 25 per cent.

The most interesting fact, however, is that the income from taxation is less than 50 per cent. of the total income of the city. In other words, of the total of \$19,000,000 (in 1892) taxation contributed but a little over \$9,000,000. Where do

the remaining \$10,000,000 come from? The answer to this question throws a side light on the condition of the city's various industrial enterprises. Of the \$10,000,000 in question something like \$1,500,000 were derived from new loans, the greater part of which was expended for school buildings. Of the remaining \$8,500,000, only about five interest us more particularly in this connection.

The various public works of the city, viz: the gas and water works, markets, slaughter-house and sewerage, yield a profit very close unto four and one-half millions of dollars. The other half a million is of still greater interest, as it represents the payment of the public transportation companies in 1892. Although the sum, in and of itself, is not very large, yet it stands for a policy which has still to find its equal in the other great cities. Not that Berlin has definitely solved the problem of dealing adequately with those private corporations to whom extensive franchises and privileges are given. To exercise a strict control without hampering the development of the public transportation system is one of the severest tests of administrative strength. Paris offers us, in this respect, a most instructive negative example. The unconcealed enmity of the Municipal Council towards all corporations has led to a policy of petty interferences, which accounts for the unsatisfactory conditions of its public transportation system.

In Berlin we find the municipality actively co-operating with the street-car companies to improve the system without relinquishing, for a moment, its control. Practically the entire system of street-car lines (*i. e.* more than 95 per cent.) is in the hands of a single company. The original payment for the franchise is insignificant when compared with the annual payments. The city requires the Company to pay into its treasury a certain percentage of the gross receipts, ranging from 4 to 8 per cent. This alone amounted to over \$300,000 in 1892. In addition, the city receives over \$100,000 annually for street-cleaning and paving. Finally, at the expiration of the 40 years' charter (Dec. 31st, 1911), all street car lines, including waiting-rooms, become the property of the city,

together with the right to purchase the rolling-stock at its appraised value. Our large cities have become so accustomed to being dominated, to a greater or less degree, by railway companies, that to find an exception is so strange a sensation as almost to border on the uncanny. And yet, when we follow step by step the history of Berlin, it all seems very simple. No exalted sense of public duty prompted Berlin to demand an adequate return for the franchise it granted. The keen interest which the great mass of the population bring to all questions affecting the public highways, would have made any other course almost unthinkable. An inadequate return would have been looked upon as pure robbery.

As to the city debt, it is only necessary to mention that, of a total indebtedness of \$60,000,000, eighty per cent. represents profit bearing industrial enterprises such as water, gas, markets, slaughter-houses, etc., the remaining twenty per cent. being expended for school-houses bridges and the like. We have now before us in briefest outline, not so much what Berlin is, as what it is doing. From this it would be wrong to infer that it in every way meets the requirements of a broad municipal ideal. In the patronage of the finer side of social life, of art, music, and literature, Berlin stands far behind Paris. In the management of some of its municipal works, private business principles have been carried a little too far to the exclusion of the broader ends of social policy. This has been especially noticeable in the management of the gas-works. And yet, taken all in all, it is undoubtedly entitled to the rank of the best governed of great cities. As to the causes of efficiency we found the first, in point of historical order, to be the full appreciation by the central government of the conditions of urban as distinguished from those of rural life. To govern a city like a rural county is to deprive it at the very outset, of the true basis for a healthy development. Every page of the history of modern Berlin gives evidence of this feeling of self-reliance engendered by the sense of its own responsibility. To this most potent force has come the principle of obligatory municipal service. Add to these the conditions of German social life, and the

ever-increasing interest in municipal affairs is no longer surprising.

This has been the real source and mainspring of efficiency. From it has sprung that municipal consciousness and conscience which meet us at every turn in the study of the various municipal departments. The contrast with our own conditions is brought painfully home to us when we find ourselves exercising every argumentative faculty in favor of like methods in city government. At Berlin such methods are adopted by the very force of circumstances. They require no advocacy. No long years of struggle, of disheartening disappointment were necessary in order that expert directors might be given to those municipal departments which under the conditions of modern city life have become purely technical. It was not necessary to prove to the inhabitants, as if it were a difficult and abstruse problem, that in granting franchises to public transportation companies, valuable rights were being alienated. The German magazines and newspapers did not offer the spectacle of an endless number of articles imploring citizens to take an active interest in their own affairs. This necessity carries with it the most bitter criticism our institutions have had to bear.

It is here that Berlin has very definite and positive lessons to teach us. It shows us clearly that we have not recognized the true nature of the municipality. The doctrine that a municipal corporation is but a *subordinate branch of the general governmental power of the State*, a doctrine which has been confirmed from the United States Supreme Court downwards, is as false in principle as it is detrimental to progress in its operation. The very first step is therefore a change in the attitude of the State towards the municipality, and following this, a change in the attitude of the citizens towards the city governments. They must, as at Berlin, feel themselves a part of the Communitates; that its interests are their interests; that to rob it is to lessen their sum of pleasures. When this point is reached, expert directors of municipal departments, holding office for life; a thoroughly equipped and organized civil service; a scientific organiza-

tion of public charities and a mass of other institutions, will all have become the necessary parts of our system. What Berlin has done, we will then look upon as the very minimum to be attained ; for with incomparably superior resources, the possibilities of municipal life are as yet a closed book to us.

The lessons of Berlin's experience, our past history and present condition clearly show that upon these changes the future of city government in the United States depends. They are the first steps towards the realization of the reasonable hopes and expectations of the admirers of our institutions.

THE RELATION OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM TO MUNICIPAL REFORM.

By CARL SCHURZ, NEW YORK.

I beg leave to invite attention to a phase of the problem of municipal government which, in the consideration of schemes of reform, should never be lost sight of. It will be admitted that there is not a municipal government in this country, on whatever pattern organized, which will not work well when administered by honest, public-spirited, capable and well-trained men. On the other hand, the best form of municipal government will work badly when administered by bunglers or knaves, the worse the longer they are in office. It is a matter of experience that municipal misgovernment develops its worst attributes when selfish and unscrupulous politicians succeed in continuing themselves, or their kind, in the possession of official power by the support of a large force of voters organized in their interest. This becomes possible in the same measure, as the municipal officers have a more or less large mass of patronage to dispose of, by a skillful distribution of which they can attract to themselves persons of local influence who, together with their dependents and friends, and with the large number of expectants whom the prospect of spoil always attracts, will muster a powerful host at the polls. Such a voting force, impelled by a mercenary interest, is easily organized and drilled. It will obediently follow the command of the chiefs from whom favors have been obtained and further favors are expected, and it will be always ready for united action. It may constitute only a minority of all the voters of the community, but its compact organization, its strict discipline, its constant readiness for united action will usually give it a great advantage over the majority, which but seldom can be united against it without the impulse of an uncommon

excitement. From time to time an outraged and indignant community will rise up and sweep the dishonest rulers from power; but if the same means for alluring, and the same facilities for organizing the mercenary element remain in existence, the same class of men will contrive to regain the temporarily lost places when the watchfulness and energy of the public-spirited citizens become less effective, or when the opposition to the dishonest permits itself to be distracted by party politics; and then the same kind of misrule will return. This is, in a few words, the history of most of the municipal governments in our large cities.

It is always wise to learn from the enemy. The politicians who look upon our municipal governments as mines to be worked for their benefit, and who wish to entrench themselves in the municipal offices against the assaults of the so-called "better element," naturally desire and endeavor to increase as much as possible the mass of patronage to be manipulated by them. And as the patronage mainly consists of places in the public employment drawing salaries or wages, and of contracts expected to yield profit, they will to the utmost of their opportunities seek to multiply official employments as well as public works, regardless of the public interest. They will also, by exacting little work for good pay, make the offices as attractive, and by granting favorable terms to the contractors, the contracts as profitable, as possible. The more favors they have at their disposal for distribution among faithful adherents, the larger a following they can organize and hold at their command; the more strongly they will be fortified in their seats of power; and the easier it will be to them after a reverse to keep their organization in fighting trim and to restore their power upon the same basis. In fact, the very existence of a large patronage to be distributed by way of favor will always be a temptation to abuse it for selfish purposes. This temptation will be the more seductive, the stronger the mercenary element is among the people; and this element is naturally strongest in the large cities.

The mercenary element can as such be enlisted for politi-

cal work only when there are means for gratifying it. In the same measure as the means of that gratification cease to be available, the mercenary element will cease to be a potent factor in politics. Strip Tammany Hall permanently of the means of feeding its adherents out of the public purse, and Tammany Hall, such as it is at present, will no longer be a power. To this end it is not sufficient merely to defeat the Tammany candidates at the polls, for so long as the plunder exists, the organization will stick together in the hope of recovering that plunder at the next election. It is, therefore, necessary so to limit the quantity of patronage subject to distribution by way of favor, that Tammany Hall, after a defeat, has not only nothing, or only very little, to give for the time being, but that it has nothing, or only very little to promise in case of a return to power. Then its mercenary forces will gradually scatter and its power will crumble away. The same applies to similar organizations of the mercenary element in other places.

The area of patronage subject to distribution by favor should therefore be restricted to the narrowest possible limits. The first step to this end is to place the whole clerical force of the municipal government by law under rules regulating appointments similar to those which govern the so-called classified service of the United States. This requires a system of examinations upon the result of which appointments are to depend; and these examinations should throughout be competitive—the men rated highest to receive the places—for only competitive examinations honestly conducted exclude the exercise of favor. Nor should exceptions from the operations of the competitive rule, such as still exist in the United States service, be admitted. Most of these exceptions are not only unnecessary but hurtful in their effect. There is, for instance, no good reason why an employé of the government who is required to give bond should be exempted from the competitive rule, while another charged with similar duties is subject to it; for those who are graded highest in the examination are probably the most able to secure the required bond. Many of the so-called confidential places

which have been exempted on the pretended ground that they are confidential, have no confidential character worth speaking of. It is now admitted by every well-informed man that the exemption from the civil service rules of the chiefs of divisions in the great offices is not only not in any sense demanded by the public interest, but that it has a demoralizing effect upon the service. In general it may be said that the exceptions serve only to save for the spoilsmonger as many places as under any plausible pretext should be saved, and that their existence is a constant incitement to circumvention of the law.

The second step is to put the whole laboring force of the municipal government, skilled as well as unskilled, under rules to govern permanent as well as temporary employment, similar to those which are in force in Boston under the registration system for laborers, and as have been introduced in the navy yards of the United States by Secretary Tracy, and are continued in force by Secretary Herbert. As a general principle, skilled labor requiring specific accomplishments for the work to be done, the possession of which can be well ascertained and relatively measured by competitive tests, should be put under the competitive rule. As to unskilled labor, such as street sweeping and the like, an examination as to the physical fitness and good report as to character will be sufficient to qualify for registration, those who have been registered to be employed in the order of their application for registry.

Opinions have somewhat differed among the friends of civil service reform, as to whether promotions from lower to higher grades should also be regulated by competitive tests. It is readily admitted that a good title to promotion may be established by practical efficiency and the qualities constituting what is called executive ability, the evidence of which cannot be furnished by an examination in the ordinary sense. It is also true that ordinarily the superior officer knows best which of his subordinates are deserving of promotion, and that on this point no better authority can be invoked than his judgment. But it is no less true, that when a public

officer is subject to political influence, it is usually this influence, and not his personal judgment, that determines the promotion of his subordinates, and that this influence usually pays no regard to those considerations of the public interest by which promotions should be governed. And it is a common experience that the presence of this influence is but seldom effectually resisted, even by dutiful public officers, unless their power of resistance finds some outside support. They have to be protected against that pressure by a bulwark of law behind which they can shelter themselves and which political influence cannot easily surmount. To this end a rule to govern promotions may be made providing for examination touching the knowledge required by the duties to be performed, together with an impartial and methodical inquiry into the official record of the candidate to verify as nearly as possible his practical efficiency and his executive ability. Even such a method may not always suffice accurately to fix the relative merits of different candidates for promotion and to furnish in every case the best possible man for the superior place. But it will at least tend to remove promotions in the service from the reach of political influence, which of all the powers determining appointments and promotions, is the most regardless of justice to individuals as well as to the public interest.

This is in fact the feature of civil service reform which cannot be too strongly emphasized. The object is not merely to discover, by means of examinations among a number of candidates for public employment, the most competent, but to relieve the public service as well as our whole political life as much as possible of the demoralizing influence of political favoritism and mercenary motive, and thus to lift them to a higher plane not only intellectually but morally. Its improving effect upon the practical efficiency of the service will indeed be considerable. It obliges the candidate for appointment to stand solely upon his merit and therefore to prepare himself for a good showing. It makes the public servant thus appointed feel that his retention in office will depend not upon the favor of any influential individual, but only

upon his own zeal and competency in discharging his duties. It tells the aspirant to promotion that his ambition will be gratified only if he furnishes proof of superior capacity, knowledge and practical work. All this will inspire the public servants with a self-respecting purpose to do their utmost, not to please a political patron, but to give to the public the best of that kind of service for which they were appointed.

But what is at least equally important, the farther this system is extended, the more public places are withdrawn from the reach of political favoritism, the more the patronage is curtailed with which the selfish political manipulator can organize and hold his mercenary following, the more difficult will it become to keep a political machine composed of the mercenary element in working order, the less influential a part will spoils and plunder play in our political life, the less profitable will politics become to the political speculator, the more congenial will the occupation with public affairs become to the good citizen, and the better will be the chance for good government.

It is important, therefore, that the system which restricts the selection for public employment to persons of ascertained fitness, should be made to cover as many places as possible. This applies not only to the lower but also to the higher grades. To this end it seems to me desirable that when municipal offices are to be filled, the discharge of the duties of which require professional knowledge, skill and experience, the selection should be confined to professional men of good standing. Let us take for an example a department about which there may be some doubt in this respect, the department of public works, meaning the department which has in its charge the matter of drainage, of water supply, of street paving, and similar things. It is certainly one of the most important branches of municipal government. There is no doubt that the administration of that department will serve the community best when not only all the laborers employed are able-bodied, steady, moral, hard-working men, each skilled according to the work he has to do, but when the men

charged with the planning and the direction of the work are able, trained and experienced civil engineers. That there should be a staff of engineers answering this description nobody will dispute. The question is whether it would not be wise to make it an invariable rule that the responsible head of the department, the commissioner, or by whatever name he may go, should also be an engineer of good standing in the profession.

I know it is said that the head of such a department should possess certain qualifications other than mere professional skill; that he should have business experience and a high degree of what is commonly called executive ability. This is true. But among civil engineers executive ability is probably as abundantly found as among any other class of persons; and it will not be denied that the required executive ability, *combined* with engineering skill and experience, will in that office be especially valuable. There is, however, another point of importance to be considered. A commissioner of public works, who is not an engineer, but only an able politician, or, let us assume for argument's sake, an able business man in the general sense, will be much more exposed to political temptation than an engineer of good standing would be. The engineer would have a professional reputation to take care of, and it would be, aside from his duty to the public, his natural ambition to use the opportunities of his office for making a great name for himself in his profession. He will, therefore, be likely to make every possible effort to get rid of the intrusion of political influence which he will soon recognize as a great danger in his path, and to make his department in the best sense a business department.

I may be reminded of the fact that in the freest countries in the world, the United States and England, it has been found wise to confide the government departments of war and of the navy to non-professional men, to civilians. But the offices of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy are political offices. There are political duties connected with them. It is therefore proper that they should be given to politicians. It may be remarked, however, that

almost every other government of note, the constitutional as well as the absolute, prefer for the war department a general and for the navy department an admiral. But the office of the commissioner of public works is in no sense a political office. On the contrary, politics should be kept away from it as far as possible. And I doubt whether anything else would be more calculated to keep politics permanently away from it than, in conjunction with the extension of the civil service rules over all the inferior places, the establishment of a rule making only engineers of good standing eligible to the office of Commissioner.

It may also be objected that a thoroughly upright and very able business man, not a professional engineer, may sometimes be found to fill quite successfully the office of commissioner of public works. Mr. Alfred T. White, who has recently been appointed to that place by the reform mayor of Brooklyn, Mr. Schieren, may be pointed out as an instance. Mr. White happens to have been educated as a civil engineer; but as he has for many years past followed mercantile pursuits, we may accept him as a merchant, and as such, the model of a public-spirited business man in office. I am far from denying that his appointment was the ideal one under the circumstances. I am far from asserting that Mayor Schieren could have done better. I am far from fearing that Mr. White will be accessible to political influence. But I do say, that the appointment of Mr. White has attracted so much attention, because it is so far above the ordinary level. And I venture to say further, that, taking a period of twenty-five years, a majority, if not a very large majority, of non-professional men put into that office on the ground of general business ability, would either be politicians at the start or soon become subjected to political influence, to the detriment of the public interest. On the other hand, I am far from pretending that every civil engineer put into that place would be absolutely proof against political influence. But I think I risk nothing in saying that, taking a period of twenty-five years, a large majority of professional engineers in that position would not become subjected to political influence, but fight it off, greatly

to the benefit of the public interest. And it is such averages that we have to look to in considering the wisdom of a general rule.

The same reasoning applies to the sanitary department, which certainly should be under the exclusive control of men versed in sanitary science, who have a professional conscience to guide them, a professional reputation to take care of, and a professional ambition to spur them on.

It applies equally to the police department, the direction of which should be confined not to a board composed of politicians who almost necessarily will think it their principal business to distribute spoils and to put the police to political uses,—nor to mere amateurs in the police business, but to one responsible man to whom the discharge and the study of police duties has become a life-calling, who has won a reputation in that line, a professional policeman, whose natural ambition it will be to make a name for himself as a great chief of police, and who, being charged with full responsibility for the conduct of his department, will not be inclined to permit politics to deprive him of that name.

The same may be said of the fire department, but it is unnecessary to elaborate.

The selection of fit men for these places, under such restrictions as indicated, would properly be confided to the executive head of the municipality, the mayor. He will, of course, be liable to err, and he may be controlled by motives not in accord with the public interest. These are contingencies against which it is impossible to provide by any legislative contrivance. The problem is as much as possible to enlarge the power of such an officer for good, and to circumscribe his capacity and his opportunities for mischief. With a Civil Service Law and rules under that law stripping the chiefs of the city departments of patronage for distribution by favor, with proper penalties for violation of the law, and with legal provisions cutting off the pay of persons not properly appointed, the inducement to select for these places men with a view to the use of their offices for political ends would be greatly lessened, and it is probable that gradually

a custom would grow up to select men for chiefs of the departments, when such places become vacant, from the number of professional assistants already in the service. In general, the promotion for ascertained merit from one place to another up to the top would be greatly facilitated; and it requires no argument to prove that this would redound in a high degree not only to the benefit of the service but also to the moral elevation of municipal politics.

I am very far from asserting that the mere formal introduction of the system I speak of would be a panacea for all the ills in municipal government that afflict us. No system, however wisely devised, will work automatically. It will require faithful and competent men to direct and watch over its workings. As experience shows, no sooner is the merit system introduced anywhere in the service than the spoils politicians exhaust all the resources of their ingenuity in the endeavor "to beat the law." They fight it desperately, for they know that it threatens their means of subsistence! They usually succeed for a time to a certain extent, and then, taking advantage of their own wrong, they cry out that civil service reform is a humbug. But after a while fortune turns against them, the fraudulent circumventions of the law are exposed, the proper remedies are applied, and the reformed system not only regains its foothold but advances step by step. Of this, too, present experience furnishes us an object-lesson in New York, where civil service reform lay in a torpid state during the glacial period of the Hill regime; but it is now thawed out again by a recent change in the weather, and makes itself decidedly disagreeable to many of the scoffers and evil-doers. It has evidently come not only to stay, but to grow. Of course, to make it bear its full fruit in municipal government, the vigilance of an enlightened public opinion and the active and constant participation of public-spirited citizens in municipal affairs can never be dispensed with.

Neither do I mean to detract from the importance of other measures of municipal reform, such as the proper definition of responsibility, and its conspicuous lodgment in

officials who can be held to account ; or legislation to prevent election frauds, or to facilitate the nomination and effective support of independent candidates, or to separate municipal from state and national elections, and the like. The great value of such reformatory measures I fully appreciate. I believe, however, that the widest possible application of civil service reform principles to all the departments of municipal government is not merely a desirable, but an indispensable complement of all the other reforms, for it touches the root of the evil ; that as appointments to office cease to be made by way of favoritism and for political ends, and as they are bestowed solely according to merit, and in the higher grades upon men of professional skill and standing, not only the service will be improved in point of character, efficiency, and economy, but the means for attracting, feeding, and organizing the mercenary element will be curtailed, and the influence of that element will grow less ; and that, in the same measure as the influence of the mercenary element dwindles, municipal government will again become an attractive field of endeavor and honor to men of self-respect, of enlightened public spirit, and of noble ambition.

THE RELATION OF WOMEN TO MUNICIPAL REFORM.

By MARY E. MUMFORD, OF PHILADELPHIA.

The weakness underlying our present method of municipal government seems to be the lack of competent business men to dictate the public policy, men who are actuated by such altruistic motives that they are willing to sacrifice their personal gain to the well-being of the community. Just now the citizens of Philadelphia have a sad object-lesson before them in the withdrawal from our City Councils of honored men, for the reason that they can not allow public service to interfere any longer with their private affairs. It is perhaps well at such a moment to take a general survey of the body politic, and see whether we are using all the forces at our command for the general good, and I feel impelled to draw your attention to a large fraction of unused human ability, which in future reconstructive measures might well be taken into account. It would seem that the very first requirement in the model legislator should be, the ability to command a certain amount of leisure in which to study intricate problems, to visit other communities and compare their methods with his own, and attend frequent stated meetings and the long sessions of committees and sub-committees.

The only persons who to-day can command the leisure which such work demands (and they constitute quite a large class) are the women of our households. This leisure has been brought about by causes for which the woman herself is in no way responsible. Modern machinery and modern science together have slyly intruded themselves upon the domestic hearth, and forced a silent revolution in habits of living. Steam, gas and electricity have removed from houses the dirt and discomfort of wood and coal. The public laundry shares now appreciably in the family washing. The

baker, the confectioner, the canning establishment, the cold-storage house, take a share in providing for the family table. The caterer relieves us of the great burdens which formerly attended upon the duty of hospitality. The clothing of the male sex has long been absolutely in the hands of the tailor and outfitter, and each year more women's and children's clothing is placed under the construction of organized labor. The carpet-cleaning house, with its professional renovator and his trained assistants, takes charge of the yearly sacrifice to the god of cleanliness, and handles the *lares* and *penates* so skillfully that man's last crown of domestic martyrdom is removed. Even the modern baby, under the insistence of the medical man and the trained nurse, is a reconstructed being. He must not be cuddled, and dandled, and waked up for the admiration of the visitor. The cradle is no more recognized in modern usage than the old oaken bucket. We may sentimentally regret them both, but they have had their day, and are simply useful as bric-a-brac relics of the Mayflower period. The Kindergarten has its appropriate place in the child's development, and is a most kindly and judicious nurse, while in the day school now are given the mother's lessons in sewing, cooking, and other domestic science.

From these readily recognized changes, and many others which might be mentioned, it will be seen that, while the ordinary housekeeper is still a cook, a laundress, a seamstress, a milliner, nurse, hostess, wife and mother, all in one, swift-winged machinery and changes in social custom have so wrought in her domain that she must have many hours which she can devote to affairs outside the four walls of home.

Women themselves have realized these changes only in a dazed and imperfect way. With some the impulse was, at first, to overload their housekeeping, working with new appliances on old traditions. For instance, when the sewing machine made work easy, the first effect was to multiply clothing and trimmings, to make one's self the slave of the machine instead of its mistress.

Another product of too much leisure has been the excess-

ive construction of useless fancy work, the fruit of idle hands controlled by idle brains. The victims of this idleness strongly impressed our witty French visitor and critic who made the well-worn *bon mot*—that if he had the choice of a luxurious after-life he would pray to be made an American woman.

But these classes are diminishing daily, while many were wise from the beginning, and took their abilities out into the field of charitable endeavor, where their great achievements are known and read of all men. These, the more thoughtful, as soon as they left the narrow circle of the fireside for wider effort, realized that woman's life was very imperfect in two ways; first, in lack of education; second, in knowledge of, and confidence in, her own powers.

Therefore women's colleges sprang up and were filled faster than they could be built with young girls eager for learning. The older women, for whom the college came too late, associated themselves in clubs and literary societies, where they have had valuable training in principles of organization, in general culture, in independence of thought and power of expression. Mrs. Palmer said wisely at Chicago, that 1492 discovered America—1892 discovered woman. But the great wonder after all is that it was the woman who discovered herself, and thereby learned to know and value her fellow-woman. Comradeship among the gentler sex, new bonds of sympathy, new fields for generous admiration and esteem are the fruits of that discovery, and you will pardon her if for the moment she has a little infatuation for the noble quality she finds in her sister. Not that she loves Caesar less than of old, but she does love Calpurnia more. She has a new confidence in her ability; she sees even in her warnings (which Cæsar lightly disregards) something more than the idle dreams or fancies of a weaker brain. Now, with this leisure on her hands, with the growing desire to use it nobly and for the benefit of the world, is there anything in the very conditions of her life which should lead her to take an especial interest in municipal government? Undoubtedly! for what is the city but the larger house in which we all dwell, in which, under wise control, each member must

so live as to contribute to the general welfare. Good city government is good house-keeping, and that is the sum of the matter. The experiences of her narrow sphere are the same on the wider plane. If she follows her broom into the street she is confronted with a problem upon which she has been at work for centuries, and she has well learned the principle that the prime condition for the remedy of dirt and all uncleanness is first to see the same. I think all will agree with me that the peculiar sensitiveness to dirt and disorder which is hers by native instinct and long training, should be brought to bear upon every part of a great city. The street-cleaning department ought to have an ally in every house-keeper, and she should be a recognized help, instead of, as at present, a disgusted critic of the work performed. Every district might well have its woman supervisor, with authority to insist that stray papers shall not lie on the pavements, that back-alleys shall not be strewn with garbage, and that unwholesome odors shall be traced to their source, and the nuisance abated.

I know the answer will be made that this is at present, in part at least, the function of the police force, and that they have every honest intention to carry out the orders of their chief. But as they are men, these are duties for which they have no aptness or liking, and many of them, I am afraid, if called to account, would retort in the spirit of the boy who said his "grandmother made a fuss about a grease-spot if it wasn't any bigger than your hat."

The beginnings of a woman's idea of city housekeeping have already been made in several large towns, under the name of Women's Health Protective Associations. To read reports of what they have accomplished, inspires one like the history of the old Crusades. New York perhaps leads in the movement. These voluntary organizations have taken in hand investigations into school hygiene, tenement houses, sanitary inspection of stores, sanitary condition of streets and cars, offenses of gas houses, slaughter houses, disposition of stable refuse, the problem of garbage, etc. They have succeeded in remodelling the slaughter system of the northern

part of the city of New York, have secured important legislation at Albany, have made themselves wholesomely respected and feared by men who had defied the orders of the law, and the petitions of the community. I am not prepared to say whether this agency should be officially attached to the city government instead of being as at present a sort of standing critic of the regular official work, but the ability shown should be thoroughly organized, and maintained for the civic good.

Now, the home once cleaned, we may begin to beautify it. In this part of the city work we should never overlook the woman's share. Art commissions have already been established in some of the leading cities, and have impressed their value on the community. They have encouraged tree planting and secured more open spaces and parks. They have in some instances obtained good pictures and ornaments for the public schools, to cultivate a love for art in the children. They have encouraged a better taste in architecture, and have at times rejected monstrosities in painting and sculpture which were to have been palmed off on an unsuspecting public. When Philadelphia forms her Art Commission, and she can not do this too soon, she will not deprive herself of the service of her women artists, whose talents have added much to the reputation of the city.

It will seem a matter of course, perhaps, that I should say women ought to have large share in the control of school affairs. It is as the mother, as the natural educator of the child; and it is not only her right, it is her bounden duty to follow her child into the schoolroom, and know every detail of his training there. No reasonable person, man or woman, would controvert this position. The people have over and over again expressed their approval of it by making women eligible to school boards, and giving them the vote for school commissioners, but as yet they have little to do with control of education. The reason for this I find in the fact that, with a few very honorable exceptions, in almost every large town or city, the sacred function of education has been allowed to be the football of politicians, and has been used by them as a me-

dium for their own advancement. It is a just criticism, and constantly heard, that this country is spending money like water on its schools, and producing no adequate results. It seems sometimes as if we were wilfully blind in refusing to recognize that education is a science that can not be administered by Tom, Dick and Harry with any expectation of proper development. We are throwing our money away, which is serious enough, but worse than that, we are throwing the precious time of human beings away. We are robbing our children of the equipment they are entitled to as preparation for the conflicts of life. A company of lawyers might as well attempt to give medicine to a suffering community, as a board of chance citizens expect to direct the great interests of education. It is the most important science in the world, and the most undeveloped and complex. Only experts should dare administer it, and they may well enter upon such a solemn responsibility with reverent fear. As long as the citizen school boards are retained, they should be composed of men and women of the highest character and ability, single-minded, devoted, remaining long enough in office to make careful study of the problems which properly come to them for solution. They should be subject to no political dictation, and responsible for their trust only to the city and to a Higher Power. But the politician has preempted the school board, and he takes excellent care that no element so useless to him as an independent, single-minded woman shall find a place thereon. And he holds the fort with such ability that, after a struggle of many years, the women school directors in all the cities of the United States could probably be counted on the ten fingers. Boston, which has been called the most civilized city of the continent, has four, in a committee of twenty-four. Chicago and New York have had a small representation, but I believe the latter has now shelved all of its gentler contingent. Philadelphia has two women in a board of thirty-seven, and among the 450 local directors elected by the people, but one is a woman. It is of no use to expect her to seek this place, which she is pre-eminently fitted to fill, through the contests of the pri-

maries, and the hustling of political parties, nor even as the political favor of a dispenser of patronage. Make it an office which politics can not touch and she will serve you with ready faithfulness.

There is one other phase of city life which calls loudly for the help of women. It is in the ministry to the low, the degraded, in which department of city government there is heroic work to do. With the new attrition among women there has arisen a new sense of sisterhood, and a deeper feeling of responsibility among the more fortunate for those of their own sex who are in the dire struggle with poverty, degradation and crime. The day has not yet come, but believe me, it is not far distant, when woman will ask that the care and reformation of her unfortunate sister shall be placed wholly in her own hands. It is being forced upon her attention that here lie problems with which men, with all their wisdom and good intention, have not the power to deal.

A preliminary step was taken when the women in various cities demanded the appointment of police matrons in the station-houses, who should care for women and children, temporarily detained therein. The history of the movement in Pennsylvania is similar to that of other states. A committee of women appealed to the powers that be, and after a persistent struggle with the conservative forces of established order, succeeded in carrying out their wishes. A law was passed by the Legislature of 1889 making such appointments obligatory, and at the present time there are fourteen of these women officials in Philadelphia. There are nearly six thousand females arrested yearly, of whom about twelve hundred are habitual drunkards, two hundred and fifty-five street walkers; the rest commit petty offences. Turned into the machine of the law, what hope for these poor creatures? If abused, who is to know it? if falsely accused, who is to take their part? The good the police matrons may do is shown in the report of the chief of the Department of Public Safety, Pittsburgh. He says: "In all the station-houses I have now separated the males from the females, putting the latter on the second floor. I have abandoned the iron cell

feature in the female department, calling them simply 'rooms of retention.' I have connected with these bath-rooms, wash-rooms, etc. We are trying to eliminate as much as possible the prison-life surroundings that exist under the old iron-cage system. To the matron is assigned the duty of making personal examination and of searching female prisoners, duties heretofore necessarily performed by the sergeants or police officers, but from motives of modesty, generally met with resistance upon the part of the prisoner. With the advent of the matron such methods have been changed, and better results obtained in a peaceable and dignified manner. In many cases the matron has succeeded in finding the female prisoners places of employment; others were placed in the Bethesda Home, or other charitable institutions. The intercession of the matron with the magistrates has often been beneficial, mitigating what would otherwise have been a hard and cruel sentence."

There is much more which might be done for these poor women. I have been interested in the recent reports of the probation system of Boston, where young offenders are spared the disgrace of prison walls, upon the promise of reformation, and are constantly visited by a special officer appointed by the court, and assisted in their efforts to a better life. I noted with pleasure that one such officer was a woman, and that though she is battling single-handed with tremendous evils, she still finds room for hope. It seems to me there is a suggestion here of a work which might be extended, and that a committee of women, working with the probation officer, might accomplish some worthy results.

A letter written recently by a man in New York, a considerable authority in social questions, says of the police matrons: "We have ten in the city, and they are now an established fact. They were appointed at the persistent agitation of well known ladies whose view of the matter was, of course, to a large extent based on sentiment." He goes on to say that, though the police are not very favorable to the movement, he thinks the gain to the cause of humanity more than justifies the expenditure for the matrons. I quote

him here to emphasize his remark, a little slightly made perhaps, that "the demand of these ladies was to a large degree based on sentiment." He says the truth. It is this quality which woman would bring to the affairs of government, a quality public administration sadly lacks. For why this government? Not simply to keep clean streets, avoid the cholera, and punish crime. In the lesser household of the home, in the larger household of the city, the aim is the same. It is for the highest good of all concerned, the advancement of humanity. I think every one will acknowledge that it is the continual disposition of a man to create a machine to do his work for him. This he does with marvelous skill; his only mistake is in supposing that in the realm of humanity and of morals his machine will work out the highest ends. He builds up a beautiful enginery of laws, and sets up men to tend them, and then goes about his ordinary tasks with blind confidence that all is well. While the wheels go round merrily he is content, and forgets that poor humanity is in their cruel grasp, and he is totally surprised after a while to find he has been crushing souls, when he only meant to re-make and re-form them.

The woman force is not of this kind. It is ever individual, ever sympathetic and in good works originitive.

If the woman comes into your counsels it will be as the silent force opposed to the machine—the machine in contracts, the machine in politics, the machine in education, the machine in charity. She will disturb your set routine and your cast-iron law. She will work for ideals; they may seem to you chimeras, but in the end you will approve them.

But I would not leave you with the thought that woman is not, even from your view, thoroughly practical, nor do you doubt that she is executive, and in her administration economical. She has now proven her ability in the large enterprises she has managed and brought to successful issue. Nearly one hundred charities and societies are administered by women alone in Philadelphia. The Christian Associations involve the control of large capital and extensive interests; while the President of the World's Fair Commission

takes special pains in his report to President Cleveland to enlarge upon the able and efficient conduct of affairs by the women managers and their very important contribution to the success of the enterprise.

I am aware that in this short paper I have confined myself to but one view of this great subject—woman as the home maker, and through that, her relation to municipal government. On this ground alone I claim for her a place in all those positions where she can use her particular talents for the public good—as supervisors of street-cleaning and sanitation, as members of art commissions and school boards and boards for the administration of charities and corrections. I do not forget that she has material interests at stake, that she is a very large property holder in every city in the land, nor am I unaware that the municipal ballot is slowly creeping across the country from the plains of the West, and that it will, for good or evil, soon be in her hands. It will not find intelligent women unprepared—for they are everywhere studying the science of Civics, and the social problems of the day.

Gentlemen of this Conference, as the complement of your self-devoted work in the perfection of city government, I offer you the service of the woman of to-day. She brings leisure; she brings an unprejudiced mind; she brings a strong conscientiousness, executive ability, and devotion and consecration to the best interests of humanity. What will you do with her? Can you afford to do without her?

THE SEPARATION OF MUNICIPAL FROM OTHER ELECTIONS.

BY W. HARRIS ROOME, OF NEW YORK.

It may be considered as beyond dispute, that an honest and capable government must depend on the intelligence of the voters and on the amount of interest which is felt by them in public affairs.

Without such intelligence and interest on the part of the voter, it may be rightly claimed that the dishonesty and ignorance which will be manifested in the conduct of public affairs cannot be appreciably lessened by legislation. In other words, it will make but little difference what may be the laws governing the terms of office, or the method of electing, or the powers vested in this or that official, so long as the people themselves are satisfied to be governed by ignorance and dishonesty.

For some time past, however, matters affecting the government of cities have awakened in the minds of the people an interest which has been continually increasing, and we may safely say that the question of city government is to-day regarded as of the greatest importance to the welfare of our country, not only by students, but also by a considerable number of the people. This contention being admitted, it would seem that the time has arrived to consider the laws under which our cities are at present governed, and to make such changes as will allow the voters to give an honest and independent expression of their opinion on questions affecting city government.

To this end laws have been enacted in many states providing for a secret ballot; increasing the powers of the mayor as to appointments; separating city from state and national elections, and to the same end laws have been enacted on many other points.

In considering the various laws which might be enacted in order to assist those who are striving for good government and to diminish the success which now attends the practices of the professional politician, it seems to me that none is of greater importance than a law which will properly separate the time of holding municipal elections from the times of holding state and national elections.

In order to appreciate the advantages of a separation of elections, we need but to consider the evils of having the elections fall at the same time. In the report of the New York Commissioners of 1876, appointed "to devise a plan for the government of cities in the State of New York," of which Mr. William M. Evarts was chairman, we find the following statement in regard to the conditions which at that time affected the question of municipal government. It reads as follows :

"The formation of general political parties upon differences as to general principles or methods of state policy is useful, or at all events, inevitable. But it is rare indeed, that any such questions, or indeed any upon which good men ought to differ, arise in connection with the conduct of municipal affairs. Good men can not and do not differ as to whether municipal debt ought to be restricted, extravagance checked and municipal affairs lodged in the hands of competent and faithful officers. There is no more reason why the control of the public works of a great city should be lodged in the hands of a Democrat or a Republican, than there is why an adherent of one or the other of the great parties should be made the superintendent of a business corporation. Good citizens interested in honest municipal government can secure that object only by acting together. Political divisions separate them at the start, and render it impossible to secure the object desired equally by both * * * This obstacle to the union of good citizens paralyzes all ordinary efforts for good municipal government. The great prizes in the shape of place and power which are offered on the broad fields of national and state politics offer the strongest incentives to ambition. Personal advancement is in these fields naturally

associated with the achievement of great public objects, and neither can be secured except through the success of a political party to which they are attached. The strife thus engendered develops into a general battle in which each side feels that it can not allow any odds to the other. If one seeks to turn to its advantage the patronage of municipal office, the other must carry the contest into the same sphere. It is certain that the temptation will be withstood by neither. It then becomes the direct interest of the foremost men of the nation to constantly keep their forces in hostile array, and these must be led by, among other ways, the patronage to be secured by the control of local affairs. * * * Next to this small number of leading men there is a large class who, though not dishonest or devoid of public spirit, are led by habit and temperament to take a wholly partisan view of city affairs. Their enjoyment of party struggles, their devotion to those who share with them the triumph and defeats of the political game, are so intense that they gradually lose sight of the object for which parties exist or ought to exist, and considerable proportions of them in their devotion to politics suffer themselves to be driven from the walks of regular industry and at last become dependent for their livelihood on the patronage in the hands of their chiefs. Mingled with them is nearly as large a number to whom politics is simply a mode of making a livelihood or a fortune, and who take part in political contests without enthusiasm and often without the pretense of an interest in the public welfare and devote themselves openly to the organization of the vicious elements of society in combinations strong enough to hold the balance in a closely contested election, overcome the political leaders and secure a fair share of the municipal patronage, or else extort immunity from the officers of the law * * * The rest of the community, embracing the large majority of the more thrifty classes, averse to engaging in what they deem the low business of politics, or hopeless of accomplishing any substantial good in the face of such powerful opposing interests, for the most part content themselves with acting in accordance with their respective parties * * *

It is through the agency of the great political parties, organized and operating as above described, that our municipal officers are and have long been selected. It can scarcely be matter of wonder then that the present condition of municipal affairs should present an aspect so desperate."

I make the foregoing quotation because the article states that "The rest of the community, embracing the large majority of the more thrifty classes, averse to engaging in what they deem the low business of politics, or hopeless of accomplishing any substantial good in the face of such powerful opposing interests, for the most part content themselves with acting in accordance with their respective parties." This statement may have been true in 1876, but we have every reason to believe that the great mass of the voters are not to-day hopeless of accomplishing substantial good in the face of the powerful interests opposed to them. The increasing number of bodies which have been formed on non-partisan lines show that a large number of people are prepared to act together, and to disregard party affiliations.

I do not wish in any way to underestimate the power of those interests which are opposed to an honest city government, but I believe that if elections were separated, the power which it is supposed these interests possess would be found to have been very much exaggerated. This is due to two reasons. When national and city elections fall at the same time, the success of the spoilsman's ticket is due, in great measure, to the indifference of the voter and to his inability to consider the municipal question distinct from the national. It is also due to the system of trading which is carried on, and by which votes are given for the local ticket of one party in exchange for votes for the national ticket of the other. With all these conditions unfavorable to the success of any independent or citizens' ticket, the result has in most cases been a victory for the spoilsmen, and in consequence, a feeling of despondency has taken possession of the minds of many who desire good government, and they have felt that it is impossible to obtain an honest city government. The separation of elections would remove both of these conditions which are

unfavorable to an independent ticket, and with an honest ballot law and a proper separation of elections, I believe that the power which has been generally considered to belong to the party leaders would be found to be much less than it has been supposed to be. Nine men out of ten are the losers by a dishonest government. More and more is the need of an honest government being appreciated by the people. The work before us is to unite the nine men in some sort of permanent organization. Two victories at the polls would practically put an end to boss rule. But we must be wise in our work. Every defeat we suffer is of great detriment to our cause. We should make conditions as favorable to success as possible. It is of great importance that on the day of electing city officers but one plain simple question should be clearly and forcibly presented to the voter—honesty and ability or dishonesty and incompetency.

In regard to this same question, we read in the "American Commonwealth," by James Bryce, the following concerning city elections:—

"At present the disposition to run and vote for candidates according to party is practically universal, although the duty of party loyalty is deemed less binding than in state or federal elections. When both the great parties put forward questionable men, a non-partisan list or citizens' ticket may be run by a combination of respectable men of both parties. Sometimes this attempt succeeds. However, though the tenets of Republicans and Democrats have absolutely nothing to do with the conduct of city affairs, though the sole object of the election, say of a city controller or auditor, may be to find an honest man of good business habits, four-fifths of the electors in nearly all cities give little thought to the personal qualifications of the candidates, and vote the 'straight-out ticket.'"

The disposition "to run and vote for candidates according to party" has, in my judgment, very much decreased, and I believe that if our elections were properly separated the independence of the voter would be manifested, and the evil influences referred to in the report of the Commission

could be successfully overcome. Nevertheless, if a city and national election are held at the same time a large percentage of voters, who would otherwise vote with independence on the city ticket, will be so aroused on the national questions in the campaign as to prevent their forming an intelligent judgment in regard to the qualification of the candidates for city offices.

At times of national and sometimes of state elections the tide of party spirit runs very high ; the newspapers and public speakers call upon the members of each party to stand by their organization. As a result, the average voter is aroused to a feeling of strong antagonism against the opposite party, and is hardly in a frame of mind to distinguish between national and city matters, and to exercise an independent spirit in casting his vote for city officers.

Again, the holding of city and national elections on the same day affords an opportunity of carrying on a system of trading. This has been illustrated in New York city on several occasions, and would naturally be done whenever and wherever it should seem desirable to political leaders to engage in it. It has frequently happened in New York that a large number of Republican votes have been cast for the Democratic candidates for city offices in return for the Democratic votes for the Republican candidate for President.

These two considerations are especially important when a third or independent ticket is run.

If such a ticket were put in the field at the time of a presidential election it would be most difficult to elect it, with the corrupt elements engaged in trading against it, and with the average honest voter either indifferent to it, or else aroused to the belief that he must support his party ticket in its entirety.

These considerations are worthy of the most careful attention, when we consider that for some time at least, it is necessary that there should be in the city a third party, composed of Democrats and Republicans ; not a party formed a few months before election day and to go out of existence when the election is over, but a party which will continue in

existence. After such a party has been formed, it is its duty to place its candidates in nomination whenever a city election is to be held. Such a party has been formed in Philadelphia, and such a party has been formed in New York city in the Good Government Clubs established there. A political party must either go forward or go backward. It can not remain stationary. In the elections last November the Good Government Clubs in New York achieved an unlooked for success. They will probably poll a considerable vote at the next election. But if our elections are not separated in New York, what vote will they poll in 1896 when a President will be elected?

Admitting, therefore, that the separation of elections should be taken up for immediate action, we may consider what is the most advisable method for separating them.

In several cities in New York state the method which has received the greatest approval by those who have studied the subject is as follows :

Have the elections separated by an entire year, so that the national and state elections fall in November of even years, and the city elections in November of odd years. To do this it is necessary to provide that all terms of office of state and city officers shall be either two years or some multiple of two years. Members of the lower house of the state legislature would be elected for at least two years. This is the rule in about thirty-one states, and I believe is wise. Senators could be elected for two or four years. In about twenty-two states the term of office of senator is four years. The longer terms for members of the legislature have been fixed either by the more recent state constitution or else by amendments recently adopted.

If elections were separated as herein proposed, trading would be absolutely stopped, and the voter would consider the municipal question undisturbed, to at least a very large degree, by national questions.

A separation of elections has been tried in many cities in the United States, and from a correspondence which I have carried on with a number of people in about seventeen states,

I am assured that the results as a rule have been advantageous. The separation which has generally been adopted has been for but a few months. In many instances the municipal election is held in the spring, and in some in December. Many of the writers say that they think the separation should be for a longer time. The difficulties in separating for less than a year are that party feeling will remain for some months and the opportunity for trading is not altogether done away with. There are a great many who will not take the trouble to vote twice in one year, and the result has been that at the city elections, as a rule, the vote has been considerably less than at national or state elections. The falling off in the vote in the municipal elections has been found to be in those districts in which the more intelligent and more independent classes of citizens reside. People have become accustomed to vote in November and would be apt to vote in larger numbers in that month than in any other. If two elections are held in one year the cost is about doubled, while if they are separated by an entire year there is no increase in cost. The plan to separate by an entire year has all the advantages of the other plans and none of their disadvantages.

A separation of elections is by no means a panacea for all our political ills, but it would give the voters a greater opportunity to consider with coolness and deliberation the qualifications of candidates for city offices, and would be of great advantage to those who desire to create new municipal parties, on non-partisan and business principles.

INFLUENCE UPON OFFICIALS IN OFFICE.

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What influence can the community exert upon municipal officials to secure a better administration of the government? This question assumes that the responsibility of the people for good administration does not cease when the officials are chosen and inducted into office, any more than the housewife's responsibility for the management of the household ceases when the servants are hired and assigned to their respective functions; any more than the responsibility of the directors for the conduct of the bank ceases when they have elected the president and the cashier and put the business into their hands.

To such subordinates it is often wise to give large discretion, holding them to a rigid responsibility for their own acts; yet a watchful supervision of their work can never be neglected. We are bound to know whether the work is done and well done; and it is good for our employés to know that our eyes are all the while upon them, and that we are keenly alive to the question whether their service is bringing us satisfactory results.

To establish the fact that there is an identity of interest between the sovereign people and their servants in the offices is to make an important gain. There is a pretty strong tendency to regard those who have been clothed with official power as a class by themselves, whose interests are adverse to those of private citizens. The spoils system rests, of course, on some such assumption. The man who has obtained office under that system does not consider that his primary obligation is due to the public; it is rather due to the political magnate or the political machine through whose agency he has secured the prize of office. The office is a perquisite

which he enjoys, it is not a trust which is given him to keep. His interest is not identical with that of the public, it may be hostile to the public interest. The public is a goose which he is plucking to feather his own nest. His interest and the interest of his tribe is that there shall be as many offices as possible, with the fattest possible salaries, the proceeds of which shall be divided among those who transact the business of politics. The main question with him is not how he can promote the public interest, but how he can make the public promote his interest.

It is obvious that under such a system there can be no effective co-operation between the community and its official servants. And there are political philosophers who seem to think this the natural relation between the people in office and the people out of office; who assume that it is the nature of the one class to prey upon the other. Thus Mr. Spencer, if I am able to understand him, considers government in itself the natural enemy of human kind; it was "begotten," he says, "of aggression, by aggression, and ever continues to betray its original nature by its aggressiveness." "In Mr. Spencer's eyes," says Mr. Lester F. Ward, "government consists of a group of ill-disposed individuals, 'politicians,' who have in one way or another worked themselves into power, and whose object is to deprive the people of their liberty, property and happiness." I have already admitted that there is much conduct on the part of public servants which confirms this theory; but we may be permitted to doubt that this is the normal relation between public servants and private citizens. One who has been reared under feudal or despotic rule might entertain a conception of this; but it is difficult to understand how the citizen of a representative government could hold such a theory of political relations. The spoils system is a feudal system; but we do not, I dare say, believe in this nor in any other kind of feudalism; nor do we agree with Mr. Spencer that all government necessarily takes on this character. This is certainly not the American idea. The people in office, whatever they may think of themselves, are neither our masters nor our plunderers nor our foes; they are

certainly our servants, and they ought to be our friends. Let us get this idea firmly fixed in our own minds and diligently impress it upon those whom we call to serve us. When it is fully comprehended, it will no longer seem a strange thing that the community should seek to influence the conduct of its employés; indeed that word influence will appear to be quite too weak to express the action of the popular intelligence upon public officials; whenever that intelligence is clearly expressed, it will be felt as authority, not as influence.

We may assume, then, that our duty as citizens is not done when we have chosen our public servants and inducted them into office; we may judge that it is still incumbent upon us, the people, to keep a vigilant eye upon them; to know, from month to month, whether they are keeping the charge entrusted to them; whether the work which we have employed them to do is honestly and promptly done. So far as the details of their action are concerned, we must give them large discretion; but we have a right to judge whether they are doing our work; to hold them strictly accountable for their failure to do it; to give them our cordial praise when the work is well done.

Such a close relation of the people to their servants in office is, I believe, quite essential to good government. The best governments that we have ever had have been those in which the magistrates were in closest touch with the people. This was the most striking feature of Abraham Lincoln's administration—his resolute purpose to keep in near and cordial relations with the people of the whole country. There was nothing that he so much desired as to know what these plain people were thinking and to let them know what he was thinking. The ideal ruler of a republic will always maintain this relation. And the people, as well as the magistrate, ought to desire it and seek to realize it.

It must not be forgotten that influence, of a very positive nature, is continually acting on all public officials. If the intelligent, orderly, industrious classes neglect to make their influence, felt there are others who will be very sure to let

their views and wishes be known. Demagogues of all varieties, all who wish to have the government administered in the interest of the office-holders, the great army of contractors and corruptionists, the liquor-sellers, the gamblers, the keepers of vile houses, the whole multitude of those who get their living by debauching and despoiling their fellow men—these have no scruples about using their influence, in every possible manner, upon the people in office. They are ready, of course, if the opportunity presents itself, to use something more tangible than influence; but they will not fail to use that. It is their interest, of course, that the government should not be honest and efficient and economical. The more lax and corrupt and unscrupulous is the administration, the better their purposes are served. They will do their best to make the officials feel their political importance; to show them that they have the power and the purpose to punish their enemies and reward their friends. The pervasiveness, the activity, the unwearied insistence of this kind of influence, every man who has ever occupied a city office very well understands.

It is not quite fair, then, to the well-meaning official, when the decent and law-abiding people adopt the policy of *laissez faire* in their dealings with him. If the enemies of order and virtue would also let him alone, the case would be different, but they will not; a steady pressure will be brought to bear for his demoralization, and he is sure to be made to feel, unless his judgment is exceptionally firm, that these people are the influential class, the ruling class in the community.

It seems to me that it is a simple debt which we owe to the men whom we put into office, to let them know that there are other people in the community besides the corruptionists and the disorderly classes who have ideas and wishes respecting the administration of the government. That bad influence ought to be promptly met by a good influence equally pervasive, equally energetic. The case is something like that of our missionary obligations. Critics sometimes object to all attempts to Christianize the heathen; "Leave them alone," they say, "in their primitive ignorance and simplici-

ty." If we only did leave them in their primitive ignorance and simplicity, that argument might have some force; but we do not; we send them rum and gunpowder and gangs of drunken sailors; on every coast we are introducing the deadly vices of our civilization; and because we are scattering the banè so diligently, we are bound to provide the antidote. Precisely thus we are confronted with the obligation to countervail, by our positive influence, the forces which make for unrighteousness in the community.

To many city officials such moral support as this would be most welcome. They have a good purpose to honor and enforce the laws, but whenever they attempt to do so, powerful combinations rise up to resist them, and there is little indication of any sustaining force of public opinion. The men who try to do their duty in the municipal offices often feel that they are quite alone. The good people who read in the newspapers of some act of courage or staunch fidelity on the part of one of their municipal servants, are not at all apt to let the brave officials know how cordially they approve his conduct. It is, as I know by the testimony of such officials, an extremely rare thing for a decent citizen to take pains to express the honor and admiration with which in his heart he regards a faithful public servant. I think that this is all wrong. We are just as much bound to sustain good men, while in office, by our cordial approval, as we are bound to vote for good men. And this is a duty that requires no organization, or machinery. It only requires a little thought and painstaking on the part of good citizens. If every man who comprehends the value of such fidelity and courage in public servants would go out of his way a square or two to take such a man by the hand, or would even send him through the post-office a few words of approbation, the standards of honor and fidelity in these municipal offices would be speedily and perceptibly elevated.

It must be admitted, however, that there are public servants who are not burning with desire to discharge their whole duty to their employers, and who have no wish to keep the channels of communication open between them-

selves and the respectable classes. Their tastes and ambitions all lead them in other directions. They have great faith in the power of the corrupt and disorderly elements of the population, and their closest alliances are with those who represent these elements. Under the management of officials of this class, conditions have been established in many of our municipal governments, which are far from satisfactory. Unbusiness-like methods of administration have crept in; illicit relations with contractors and plunderers of all sorts have been formed; a thousand subterranean openings into the treasury have been discovered; the guardians of the peace are seen to be on the best terms with several classes of prosperous law-breakers; many officials are using the patronage of their offices with small regard for the interests of the city, but with a constant reference to their own political fortunes. There are honest men in the government, but they find it difficult to resist the rapacious and anarchical tendencies. When any such state of things exist, it is difficult for individuals to bring any effective saving influence to bear upon the city government. The task is one that requires the united and sustained effort of many good men.

To meet conditions of this sort, which are not, unhappily, very uncommon, some kind of municipal league is necessary. Such a body does not need to be very large; but it should be carefully selected, and it should represent all classes of honest and industrious people. Its work is not that of a volunteer prosecuting agency; it is a great mistake, in my judgment, to take the business of enforcing the laws out of the hands of the officers who are employed for that purpose. Some temporary gains may be made, but the whole effect of such procedure upon the public administration is injurious rather than helpful.

The work of such a league is simply that of investigation, publication, education. Its main business is to find out the facts concerning the work of the public servants, and bring these facts to the light of day. It must also deal with the methods under which the municipal corporation is doing its work, with the forms of the organic law, and the efficiency

or inefficiency of the municipal machinery. It should divide up its work into sections or departments, and put a strong committee in charge of each, with orders to prosecute the investigation in a scientific spirit.

Such an organization should assume a sympathetic rather than a hostile attitude toward the occupants of the offices. Its work is that of criticism; but criticism is primarily, appreciation, not depreciation. There may be many reasons for believing that all is not sweet in Denmark; but that is not to be assumed. Every official must be supposed to be innocent until he is proved to be guilty. The investigators should be just as ready to praise that which is excellent as to censure that which is unworthy. Their determination to be perfectly just and fair should be manifest to all. They should proceed in their work with malice for none, with charity for all and with a resolute purpose to leave nothing covered which ought to be brought to the light.

Of course, such an organization must be strictly non-partisan. Men with political ambitions can take no part in it. No man should be made welcome in its membership who can not leave his political prejudices and predilections where the Mussulman leaves his shoes, outside the door. Partisan criticisms are always worthless. They may be true, but no intelligent person has any assurance of their truth.

The results of these studies in the legal methods and the actual workings of the city government should be carefully compiled and presented to the public in open meetings, of which due notice should be given, and to which all officials concerned should be invited. These reports ought to be compactly and clearly written; if they are not too long, and if they are packed with facts pithily put, they will be first-class news, and every city editor in town will want them. There is no reason why literature of this class should be dull; if you want to know how racy and readable it can be made, examine the reports of the Philadelphia League, to which I have reason here to confess my indebtedness.

The discussions following these reports at the time of their public presentation, should be temperate, but clear and

firm ; as a rule, there will be no need of raising the voice or of dealing in exaggeration ; the plain facts will be sufficiently harrowing.

The purpose of such a league is simply to act as a generator and disseminator of sound public opinion. It brings to light the truth which will form a basis of public opinion, and it emphasizes the importance of the interests with which it deals. The average urban citizen does not know so much as he needs to know respecting the laws under which he lives or the ways in which those laws are administered ; a great many things are going on in the city hall by which, if he only knew of them, he would be astonished. The chief work of such an organization is, therefore, to gather up and concentrate and direct public opinion. This is the power that rules in every republican government, and the need of arousing and invigorating and guiding it is really the fundamental need of every community. To get all the people to think about this great interest of local government—to think about it as much as they ought—and to think sanely and clearly about it, is more than half the battle. The great trouble now is that the great majority think very little about it ; they are so busy with their fortune-building and their pleasure-seeking that they get but little time to think ; and their ideas are apt to be discolored and perverted by all sorts of perversions and misrepresentations. To bring home to as many as possible of the citizens the chief facts with regard to the administration of the city government ; to show them what is done, and what is undone, and what is misdone ; to let them see how much money they are expending, and where it goes, and what they are getting for it ; to point out to them the future consequences of the courses which their servants are pursuing ; to reveal to them the injuries which they are suffering, not only in their estates, but in the inroads which bad government always makes upon public and private morals—all this is the very foundation of rational and radical reform. I do not undervalue the efforts which are made to improve the machinery of our municipal governments ; indeed, I regard some change in these legal methods as in

many cases imperative ; because in their present form they almost wholly prevent the effective action of public opinion ; nevertheless, we must never forget, while we are repairing or reconstructing the machinery, how necessary it is to supply the power that drives the machinery ; and this power is always public opinion. An intelligent, continuous, persistent discussion and agitation, by intelligent, unbiassed, honorable men, of the problems and methods of municipal government is the one thing needful. Such a discussion must tend to give substance and sanity and vigor to public opinion ; and it must bring a wholesome and powerful influence to bear upon the existing government. Such a concentration of the public gaze upon the people in office can not be otherwise than salutary. It makes every day a judgment day for them ; it causes every councilman and every executive officer to feel that the time has come when he must give account for the deeds done in the body of which he is a more or less reputable member.

But could not this work of investigation and agitation be done by the newspapers ? To some extent it could be done, and is done ; but there are difficulties and drawbacks. Partisan newspapers can accomplish almost nothing, except in cases of flagrant crime. An exposure like that of the *New York Times*, in the case of the Tweed Ring, shows how much a newspaper can do under certain conditions. But most of the mischiefs with which we have to deal are much less palpable than were these ; and the attack by the newspapers of one party upon the municipal administration of another party carries very little weight with thinking people. The newspapers themselves are often implicated through advertising contracts and in other ways ; and where the idea prevails, as it does in the majority of newspaper offices, that the chief business of the management is to make money for the stockholders, no consistent and heroic treatment of such questions can be looked for. Still I do wish to disparage the work that has been done and that may be done by editors and reporters who take a higher view of their function. The aid of the press in this work

of education is indispensable. Such an organization as I am advocating ought to be on the best terms possible with all the newspapers of the city. What they are aiming at is the utmost publicity for the affairs of their municipality; and the newspapers have the machinery by which this work will be mainly done. It is sufficient to say that the judgment of a body of well-known, clear-minded, judicious, experienced, honorable men will have more influence, as a rule, upon public opinion, than that of any newspaper in the city.

It must be possible, in every city, to call together such a body of intelligent, public-spirited men, who are willing to give time and effort to the education of the people upon this great subject of municipal government. The labor is one which will call for patience and self-sacrifice. It can not be finished in a single campaign; it must be taken up with the expectation that years of steady and persistent work will be required. Neither glory nor the spoils of office are to be counted on as the reward of such service; those by whom such a recompense is coveted will not be attracted by its summons. But the existence in any community of a body of such men, banded together for such a purpose, would itself be a powerful influence, both for restraint and for stimulus, upon the entire class of municipal servants. To those of them who are minded to do their duty, it would be a most welcome adjuvant; they would know that their fidelity would not altogether miss public recognition. To those who were otherwise minded, the presence of such a vigilant censor, bearing aloft the flaming sword of publicity, would bring wholesome admonition.

I have dwelt upon the importance to every community of such a league for the creation and dissemination of a sound public opinion; for the education of the people upon the problems confronting them in their municipal government. But I must not fail to say that this great power of public opinion, by which good government is made effective, can not be wholly drawn from the deliberations and discussions of any municipal league. Such a league can do much to form a channel for this power and to replenish its current;

but the sources from which it springs are multitudinous, and the responsibility for its vigorous and healthy action is shared by every citizen. The tremendous weight of this responsibility is not, I fear, felt as it should be by most of us. It is easily the first of the public duties of every good citizen to do his full part toward the creation and maintenance of this motive power of good government.

What is Public Opinion? It is only the aggregate opinion of all the people—the resultant movement of the various thoughts of many men with many minds. What is needed for the formation of a sound and strong Public Opinion is that “all-of-us,” or at any rate a great many of us, should form clear opinions on current questions, and should fearlessly express them. We must form clear opinions. They must be our own opinions. We must know what we think and why we think it. “*I believed,*” said Paul, “*and therefore have I spoken.*” The first condition of sound public opinion is this clear individual judgment. You must not catch the phrase from your neighbor and glibly repeat it; you must think it out for yourself, and refuse to utter it until you know that it is true.

This means that a good many times in your life you will stand alone. Every man who thinks thoroughly and courageously will often stand alone. That is what two good legs and an independent judgment were given him for—to stand alone. Very often the crowd about him will be swayed by passion and prejudice,—all borne along by some popular tide of feeling,—all wrong. Then is the time for him to have convictions of his own and stand upon them.

It is not enough that we should have clear convictions; we must have the courage of them; we must speak them out. The fact that nearly everybody disagrees with us is the reason why we should speak. “*I believed,*” said Paul, “*and therefore have I spoken.*” Convictions that are hidden in men’s hearts have very little influence on public affairs. The commonwealth, not less than the church, demands of us not merely the belief of the heart, but the confession of the mouth. What we want is good *public* opinion, and this

requires that good men shall make their opinions *public*. What the good citizen believes he is bound to speak. It is the failure to do this simple duty that is the immediate cause of our worst municipal conditions. Here is a plain law on the statute book, not five years old, expressly forbidding and condignly punishing some kind of iniquity. But the iniquity is practised unblushingly. Why is this? Because the officers of the law refuse to perform their sworn duty. But why do they refuse? Because no effective public opinion holds them to the work. But why is there no such effective public opinion? Simply because the good men of the city are listless and silent in the presence of the evil. If every man whose convictions on this subject were sound and clear would speak his mind about it, openly and bravely, to his neighbors, to the newspapers, to the officers of the law, the evil would be swept from sight in a week's time. Such evils flourish in the community because the silence of good men gives consent to them. The courageous utterance, by every good man, of the truth that is in him, would speedily put an end to many of the worst iniquities.

Of course, this weakness of public opinion is due, in part, to a culpable indifference or even ignorance concerning public questions. Many men are so absorbed in their business or their pleasures that they give very little thought to such interests, and have no clear convictions to express. But the greater fault is the silence of those who have convictions. One man holds his tongue, or speaks with bated breath, because he fears that he might violate some propriety, and another because he is afraid that he might hurt somebody's feelings, and another because he dislikes controversy, and another because he has a client or a customer who might be offended, and another because his church or his school might be boycotted by the enemy; and thus, in one way and another, a conspiracy of selfish silence holds in thrall the great multitude. And thus the power that ought to make for righteousness in the community is paralyzed, and iniquity comes in like a flood.

There is one practical method of creating sound public

opinion to which, in passing, I wish to draw attention. That is the method of writing letters to the newspapers. In England this is practised to a far greater extent than in this country, and with excellent results. It is not probable that the newspapers would care to print the crude effusions of everybody; but men of standing and influence in the community, who will write succinctly and intelligently on any current topic and sign their names, are not likely to have their communications rejected. By such intelligent criticism and wise comment on municipal questions, thinking men might greatly aid the formation of a sound public opinion. I know that the discreet are often restrained from such action by the fear that they will be charged with want of modesty. After writing a good many times to the newspapers of my own city on such subjects, and finding myself almost alone among men of my class in such public testimony, I confess that I have felt much reluctance to continue in this line of service. If the custom were more general it would be less embarrassing for those who now follow it. And it seems to me that a great opportunity, not to be neglected, is thus set before the men who ought to be the leaders of opinion.

This, then, is the simple duty which confronts every man and every woman of us. It is the duty of having clear opinions on matters of public concern, and of courageously expressing them. It is not enough to vote; that is a small part of our public duty; we want not merely good officers, we want to accumulate in the public mind, in the public conscience, that force by which good officers are made strong and good laws are made effective. And that force is generated by simply being honest and veracious and courageous in telling the truth. That is the whole secret of the creation and diffusion of this mighty power. We can not all vote; but we can help in generating the power that rules the republic. "These are the things that ye shall do," cried the old prophet: "Speak ye every man the truth with his neighbor." That requires neither learning nor genius, nor eloquence, nor wealth, nor station; it requires just an honest endeavor to know the truth, every man for himself, and the

simple determination to speak it without fear or favor. For when every man to his brother and every man to his neighbor shall declare the truth that is in him, an influence will pervade the community by which evil men in office will be made afraid and good men will be made strong.

The general question before us, concerning the government of our cities, is one concerning which, before I sit down I desire to say a few words. It would be very difficult, I think, to exaggerate its importance. Good city government is the servant of God, and the ally of industry and thrift and every virtue; bad city government is one of the most potent of all the forces employed by the powers of darkness. Nothing is more essentially divine than good government. Nothing more comprehensively diabolical than bad government.

In many different forms the evils of corrupt rule show themselves in the municipality. By extravagance and corruption our industries are heavily burdened; by neglect our health is endangered; by the schemes of demagogues the political life of the state and the nation is perverted. But to my own mind, the most formidable evils engendered by bad government are those which attack the character of the citizens, which undermine their patriotism, their honesty and their virtue.

It seems a small thing to say that the government of every city ought to be the friend and guardian of good order and good morals. The steady and consistent tendency of its administration should be in favor of purity, of sobriety, of honest thrift. I am sorry to say that such is not the testimony of many of our municipal governments. Of many of them it is true that whatever influence they exert is distinctly in favor of many forms of vice and dishonesty. You give your boys and girls certain instructions concerning the principles of good conduct, and whenever they walk in the streets, if you live in some cities, the government of the city tells them that what you say is nonsense. It tells them that the drinking saloon is such a good thing that it ought to have the advantage over every other kind of business of being kept open all night long and all day Sunday; it tells them that the

gambling den is so great a public blessing that it ought, in spite of the most stringent laws to the contrary, to be protected by the police; it tells them that the most shameless houses of prostitution are institutions that deserve the fostering care of the government. Its whole attitude on many of these questions of common morality is directly hostile to all that is taught in our homes, our schools, our churches. The lessons which it also gives in infidelity to trusts, and in all the arts of commercial dishonesty are none the less effective because they are partly concealed. Above all, it teaches, by its persistent and brazen neglect of the functions which it is sworn to fulfil, the lesson of contempt for law. We have had no propagators of anarchy and lawlessness so diligent and so successful, as the mayors and police superintendents who have assumed the power of annulling such laws as it did not please them to enforce. How rapidly that dry rot spreads when once it gets possession of the public mind, the student of history knows very well.

To those of us who think that the interests of character outrank all other values, the question about the kind of government that we shall have in our cities is, therefore, a question of tremendous significance. As a teacher of morality, as one of those who are seeking to influence young men and women to be chaste and sober and true and upright, I protest against the existence of municipal governments which are the organized embodiments of trickery and fraud, and the open allies of lawlessness and debauchery. I am here as a minister of Christ, as one who prays and works for the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven, to say that one of the most powerful hindrances to the coming of that Kingdom is the condition of the governments of many of our cities; so say, also, that this condition is mainly due to the excess of partisanship and the lack of public conscience on the part of our reputable citizens, the fathers of our families, the heads of our business houses and the members of our churches; and to call upon those whose business it is to take these cities in hand and rule them in the fear of God and for the welfare of man.

THE PROMOTION OF MUNICIPAL REFORM BY EDUCATION.

By EDWIN D. MEAD, BOSTON.

When Germany, after the battle of Jena, lay humiliated and ruined at the feet of Napoleon, while the French drums yet sounded in the streets of Berlin, Fichte, the most penetrating, the most noble and the most heroic of German thinkers, wasting no time in lamentations, poured out his eloquent Addresses to the German People, telling them that, if they expected to be once again a nation, if they expected to rise to a place which should satisfy German pride and the German heart, it must be by education, by the moral and scientific education of the people.

With that great word of Fichte's began a new era for Germany, the era of education; at that word the University of Berlin was born, and those reforms began which in their development gave to Prussia the most thorough system of education which the world has ever seen. It was a word not only for Prussia and Germany, but for the world. The whole world has come to see in a new and deeper way, as Prussia came to see, the fundamental importance of education; has come to see that knowledge is power, and that power, which to-day is the people, must have knowledge or can only move on to self-destruction.

The alternative set for the modern world is that described by the title of Matthew Arnold's solemn book, "Culture and Anarchy." Culture is knowledge and discipline, mental and moral competence; anarchy, lawlessness, is social chaos. If we can not have one and make it dominant, then we must and shall have the other: that is the issue. Nowhere is this truth so true as in a democracy. Where a people somehow or other has its governing done for it, by a king, a

kaiser or an aristocracy, then it may do for a time if these governing creatures alone are educated and the body of the people are not. In such a state of things, I say, order is possible; but in a democracy, where a people does its own governing, this is not possible. Where the blind lead the blind, both must fall into the ditch. If a democracy can not be kept pure and can not be kept intelligent, then it can not exist. When evils become rampant in a democracy, when folly gets the reins, or corruption gets them, then it is only education, more knowledge and better moral discipline, that can stay the progress to anarchy and to despotism, which is always invoked to end anarchy when nothing else will do it.

There is no province where the American people need education more to-day than in the province of Municipal Government. Saving only the great question of industrial reform, the demand for an industrial equality as complete as the political equality which we enjoy, or pretend to enjoy, the question of Municipal Reform is the greatest question which confronts us to-day in our politics. The problem of the American city is the problem of American politics. Our national administration, great as the evils are in our still unreformed methods of appointment, is wonderfully pure. When one thinks of the honesty with which our national finances and our enormous national business, the custom-house, the post-office, the army, the navy, the lighthouse and the rest, are conducted, compared with the dishonesty which reveals itself in the daily defalcations and embezzlements in our private banking and our various great private corporations, of which we read each morning in the newspaper, one may well wonder. Our state legislatures, with a few exceptions, Albany, Harrisburg and others, where the pressure of great railroad corporations is strong, are in the main honest and honorable bodies. But the governments of our great cities for the last thirty years have been our despair—Republican Philadelphia as bad as Democratic New York, Baltimore as bad as Chicago. The character of the men at the head of our city governments, our mayors and aldermen and common councils, has startlingly deteriorated.

The proudest of American cities must blush when it thinks who the men are in its common council, controlling its high interests, disbursing its millions of money, and representing its corporate life, when compared with the class of citizens who sit in the town councils of Birmingham and Glasgow and the great cities of France and Germany. In almost everything that touches municipal administration we are to-day behind Europe. We have everything to learn and almost nothing to teach. It is, I say, disgraceful and humiliating. It accuses the American democracy; and if these things can not be reformed, if the cities, which are the great centre of influence, can not be made centres of light and not of darkness, can not be made the places where public spirit is strongest and best organized, then the American democracy must sink and sink. If we can not have culture, broad and well directed intelligence, in control, then we shall have anarchy. I do not believe that we shall have anarchy; I do rejoice to see signs everywhere that we are entering upon an era of genuine culture and education, an era of revived patriotism and thoughtfulness. The fact that we are here to-day, to educate ourselves and to educate the people, the fact that Municipal Leagues, like those here represented, are springing into existence in all the great cities of the country, defining one of their main objects to be the education of the people in municipal politics, is such a sign. Let us never forget that this is our greatest work, the work of education. Let us make these leagues a great engine, not only for appealing to pure and patriotic feeling, but also for giving knowledge in the fields where knowledge is so greatly needed. The patriotism which we want is not a shrieking patriotism, but a scientific patriotism.

The great instrument for the education of the American people is the public school. So fundamental is the public school, that it is not too much to say that our very existence and safety depend upon its integrity and wise administration. I think we are witnessing to-day a revival of devotion to the public school, a growing feeling that its benefits ought to be made universal. The parochial school, I care not whether

Protestant or Catholic, can never give anything but a parochial education. It is not the natural cradle for the American democracy nor the natural promoter of equality and tolerance and breadth and the best citizenship. Nor can much more be said in favor of the private school for the rich man's children. It promotes class distinctions, it harms the child, it harms the parent and it harms the state. It deprives the child of the sturdier education which the public school can give, fostering in him the notion that he is a better being or more fortunate than this other boy; and it deprives the public school of the personal interest of great classes of our best educated and most influential people, whose personal interest in the public school is so necessary for the welfare of the state. In his great oration on the 250th anniversary of the founding of the Boston Latin School, Phillips Brooks, himself a public school boy, well declared that no influence could do so much to determine a boy to patriotism or public spirit as the public school, in which the boy fees the city itself to be his master and to stand behind him, commanding and inciting. The public school, I say, is the natural nursery of public spirit; and it is a most hopeful thing that we see the public school to-day recognizing as never before its duty to give the boy and girl political knowledge, the knowledge that bears directly upon good citizenship. A boy or a girl who has learned the lessons given by such a book as Dole's "American Citizen" can never look at public life and its duties as they looked at them before. In every city in the land civil government is being made a regular study in the schools. The extension of this study and the multiplication of text-books in the last ten years have been something phenomenal; and when one opens the best of these text-books, a book like John Fiske's "Civil Government," and sees the prominence given to questions of municipal administration and to the history, the life and institutions of our cities and our towns, one feels that here is a most potent influence for the reform and elevation of our local politics.

Equally potent is the new devotion to the study of our national history which has been awakened in this latest time

both within and without the schools. This is having far-reaching results in developing the love of country and the reverence for great and heroic men, which constitutes the best soil for good citizenship. There is, I believe, no more useful work being done in Boston to-day than that, sustained for years by one public-spirited woman, which is being done in the Old South Meeting-house, where prizes are offered annually to the young people of the Boston schools for the best essays on subjects in American history; where these young essayists are organized into a historical society with its regular meetings, and where on Wednesday afternoons through the long summer vacation hundreds of them are gathered to listen to systematic courses of lectures in American history and furnished with leaflets giving them original documents and directing them to the best books. I am glad that work like this Old South work is being undertaken in Philadelphia and other cities. We have in Boston a Society for the Promotion of Good Citizenship, which also holds its meetings in the Old South Meeting-house, and devotes itself to the work of educating the people in politics; and its lectures have been devoted more than to anything else during its existence to this subject of Municipal Reform, and especially to instructing the people concerning the improved municipal institutions of London, Paris, Berlin and the other great European cities. I wish that every city in the land might have such a centre for popular political education as Boston has in the Old South Meeting-house. The lessons in good politics come with double force within the walls which echoed the words of Samuel Adams in the great Boston town meetings, which proved that a pure and intelligent city was strong enough to cope with a kingdom; but there is no city in the land which may not have a "civic cathedral" of some sort, which shall be a centre of enlightenment and make history, if as yet there is no great local history to chronicle.

A city which has a great history is a fortunate city. That citizen is happy who can boast himself, like Paul of Tarsus, a citizen of no mean city, a city whose local annals touch the great lines of the world's history. The citizen of

Boston is fortunate, as the citizen of Philadelphia and of New York is fortunate, in having a great and heroic past to appeal to in awakening the reverence and emulation of the present generation. Where such history exists, make the most of it—and history is a great power to bring to bear upon the present and future. If your city has a literature, if it has poetry, if it has treasures of eloquence, call upon them. An essay like that of Emerson on Boston, in the last volume of Emerson, which has just been given us, is a distinct weapon for the Boston patriot to use in behalf of education and of civic pride; and so are Emerson's Boston poems and a score of poems by Longfellow, Lowell and the other great Boston poets. These great words, I say, must be made great use of in the education of the young and in the education of every citizen. The educational material of this kind which you have in Philadelphia, which you have in New York, which you have in Washington, which you already have in Chicago, is very great, and its influence upon the emotions and the political thought of men and women, and especially of the young, may be made very great. If a city has as yet no history nor literature, why then its people have the high privilege of creating them. Athens and Rome and Florence had a history and became celebrated because men there at the beginning made history and did things worth celebrating. Faneuil Hall is famous as the cradle of Liberty because men not famous made it and themselves famous by rocking it.

I have spoken of the work that the public schools may do and are doing in this matter of political training. No less important is the work that may be done and is being done in our colleges and universities. With all their faults, so sharply exposed by Wendell Phillips in his great Harvard address, it remains true that scholars, from the time when Moses, learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, led Israel up out of Egypt, and Wicklif, greatest scholar of his time in England, and Luther and Melancthon and Calvin wrought the Reformation, and Hampden and Pym and Cromwell and Milton and Vane, Oxford and Cambridge scholars all, laid the foundations of the English Commonwealth, to the time when

Sam Adams, taking his master's at degree Harvard, defended the thesis that the supreme magistrate should be resisted if the Commonwealth can not be otherwise preserved, and Wendell Phillips, himself the best fruit of Harvard culture, was the most eloquent voice for the slave, scholars have ever been the natural and devoted leaders of reform. To-day our American colleges are the great nurseries of patriotism and public spirit. Nowhere will these proceedings at Philadelphia be read and discussed more earnestly than among college students. It may be doubted whether this Philadelphia convention would have met at all but for the earnest and scientific study of municipal problems which has been going on for the last ten years in our leading universities. The Johns Hopkins University publications upon this subject, the work done at the University of Pennsylvania, the articles by the scholars of Columbia College in the *Political Science Quarterly* and by Harvard scholars in the *Journal of Economics*—the influence of these things upon the thoughtful people of the country, upon the men present at this convention or represented here, has been very great. Let the men charged with the interests of our higher education realize anew their opportunity and their power in this province of municipal reform and scientific municipal organization and administration. I wish that the higher political education could be more thoroughly developed in this country. I wish that we might have a school like the great school of Political Science in Paris, with its corps of fifty learned and highly-trained specialists in the chairs of instruction. We have no counterpart of this school in America. We ought to have. No man can estimate how much the wonderful development of education in France since 1870 has had to do in enabling the republic to pass through crises like those growing out of the late Panama scandals, which thirty years ago would have precipitated a dozen revolutions. Knowledge is power; and the French people now know that the only remedy for evils caused by bad men in office is not to "call on Hercules," but to put bad men out and good men in, and to keep on educating the people.

The public library in these days is becoming an educational institution such as men did not dream of thirty years ago. There is hardly a single town in my own State of Massachusetts to-day which is without a public library. It was true five years ago, if it is not true to-day, that Massachusetts had one-half the total number of free public libraries in the United States. I do not mention this so much by way of praise of Massachusetts as by way of reproach of the rest of the country. Let every state see to it that she can say the same, that there is no town within her borders without a public library. Let every Municipal League, let every city club and every town club interest itself in this extension of the public library as an engine of public political education, and let it see to it that these libraries are well stocked with the books that give historical and political enlightenment, which make for public spirit and make for good citizenship. See to it that your librarians are men of ideas and of public spirit, who will bring your libraries to bear upon the people. Who can estimate what men like Green of Worcester, like Foster of Providence, and Crunden of St. Louis, have done for the reforms which we have at heart?

Let these Municipal Leagues make better use too of the newspaper. The press to-day is as powerful as the pulpit. Let every influence be brought to bear to make the newspaper a true teacher of the people, not pandering to their weaknesses, but stimulating them to higher life. Our Boston newspapers in this latest time have given much space to questions of Municipal Reform and articles giving information upon European movements. A proper pressure, a proper interest on the part of the members of the Municipal Leagues here represented would, I am sure, secure prominent place for such matter in the newspapers of all cities. Our magazines in the last half dozen years, by the publication of the valuable articles by Albert Shaw, Washington Gladden and other writers upon these important municipal matters, have done a great work for the education of the people. They would, I am sure, do much more if the people demanded it; and the people are now demanding it.

I say nothing here about the work of the Church, because that is to be the special theme of another speaker. This only I would say, that the Church in all these matters, by the organizing of good citizenship classes among its young people, and by other means, can exert a distinct educational influence of the highest value. The Church indeed, which to my thinking deserves great credit altogether in these days for the extent to which it is waking up, deserves special credit for its new social and political interests. Few things are more hopeful than the way in which the great Society of Christian Endeavor, which includes so many of the young people of our churches, is recognizing its duty to train its members for good citizenship. We need a more political spirit in our churches, a spirit like that which was in the old Puritan ministers and the Hebrew Prophets. Almost the whole of Jewish prophecy is politics. We have made their politics our religion. I wish we could make our own that. I wish that we were not such antiquarians and foreigners in our religion, but could honestly and naturally realize and take to heart that God is the God of America as well as the God of Israel.

We are told sometimes that this habit of appealing to municipal pride, this strong stress on local matters, is something that tends to make men narrow, that tends to limit their interests and make them smaller men. This is false and very ridiculous. The man whose heart goes out most warmly to his next door neighbor is the man who will do the most always to lighten the darkness of Africa and the isles of the sea. Strong local patriotism does not hinder but only stimulates and feeds the national and cosmopolitan interests of every true man. I do not come here to boast of my own city of Boston or my own state of Massachusetts; but I like to think that Boston and Massachusetts, which surely have ever had as strong a local pride and patriotism as any city or state in the country, have also been the great centres of the doctrine of national sovereignty against all false notions of state rights, and also, I believe, centres of the broadest and deepest devotion to humanity. If you would serve America

and the world to-day, fix your thoughts sharply on your own city or your own town, on that particular section of America with which you have day by day the most to do. Be very sure that the best way for you to promote Municipal Reform in America, and so to promote the general cause of pure politics in America, is not by general essays on Municipal Reform, nor by national conventions on Municipal Reform, but by seeing to it that that city wherein you yourself do dwell is made pure and good, that its laws are made conformable to the laws of the Kingdom of God, and that the men who are called to administer its high offices are the men of the highest ideals and the highest wisdom to be found within its borders.

THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO MUNICIPAL REFORM.

By REV. JAMES H. ECOB, D. D., ALBANY, N. Y.

Will this audience have the goodness to resolve itself, for the next twenty minutes, into an average congregation of an average city church? Without the grace of Presbytery or Council I will elect myself your pastor *pro tem*. We now have the advantage of direct address and a verdict to be won.

In the first place, "my dearly beloved brethren," I must inform you that you are about as indifferent to the subject of municipal reform as any body of men and women of equal numbers and intelligence as can be found. To strike between the eyes in this fashion is, I am well aware, a rhetorical blunder. But, by your courtesy, we will beg to be excused from rhetoric. We are engaged. We proceed at once, then, to seek the grounds of this your most reprehensible indifference, and apply the moral dynamics appropriate to your recovery. We may possibly find dynamite necessary.

The church, like Keat's Saturn, has sat as "quiet as a stone" under the influence of certain traditions. One of these most sedative and relaxing traditions is, that the *church is the Kingdom of God on earth*. Another is, that *everything outside of the church is secular*. These two are but the obverse and reverse of the same coin. My dear brethren, if I can break up your Saturnine calm respecting these two traditions, you will find yourselves well on the road toward municipal reform, and all other reforms that are moving in from all points of the compass upon our latter-day conscience. What is the kingdom of God? "It is righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." "He that in these things serveth Christ is acceptable to God and approved of men." Righteousness, peace, joy in the Divine Spirit! That is universal. That is eternal. I can land on the shores of any world, and cry, I am here in

the name of "Righteousness, Peace and the Spirit of God," and at once I am at home. Instantly I am a naturalized citizen. I march unchallenged into its Plebiscitum. How comes it, then, that here on the earth a certain institution has arrogated to itself the name of the kingdom of God? You might as well think of a syndicate on sunlight, or a corner on oxygen. The claim of the church is philosophically absurd, religiously impious. The kingdom of God is simply the reign of God in his universe. Righteousness, peace and divine joy ray outward from him like the beams of the sun, touching and glancing on all worlds, on all hearts. It is the business of all worlds, all institutions, all souls, to take in the vital effluence, and so live in and by God. Because he lives we live also. Just as it is the effort of sunlight to penetrate to the arcanum of life and get itself reborn in grass and flowers and trees and all vital processes, so it is the effort of the divine, eternal, reigning life to suffuse all worlds, all souls and get itself reborn into righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost everywhere in the universal kingdom. Have you never heard, "Ye must be born again," born from above? Now there are no paid officers, no retained attorneys, no pet institutions to act as the administrators and almoners of this kingdom or dominion of the mind and heart of God. From the nature of the case there can be none. It is every soul for itself, every institution for itself, in direct vital touch with the divine heart. As every leaf must for itself touch lives with the sun. Then the life that is in us works pervasively outward, carrying its light and beauty, caught from above, incarnated on earth in righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. The church, then, is simply one of the agencies for realizing the kingdom of God on earth. Its business is to cause the prime elements of that kingdom to materialize everywhere among men.

These things being so, that second tradition, that everything outside of the church is secular, has no place left for the sole of its foot. All that we can say is that everything outside of the kingdom of God is secular, whether in the church or out of it. If there is any area inside of the church

where "righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost" do not reign, then that area in the church is secular, just as truly secular as the Stock Exchange, the Police Board or a slum caucus. These things are secular not because they are outside of the church, but because in the main they oppose themselves to the kingdom of God. As a rule they are run by the prince of darkness. But a General Assembly or a House of Bishops can be, often are, just as secular as the Stock Exchange. Our business then, my brethren, if we belong to the body of Christ, is with secularities, and secularities, do not forget, are everything which oppose themselves to righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

How comes it, my brethren, that we have narrowed the life and work of the church down to a sort of wreckage system. The world is a great, noisy, heedless, sensuous, vulgar pleasure excursion. The huge boat has struck and wrecked on the rock of sin. The hundreds of wretched victims are struggling in the water, clinging to the rigging, hugging the rocks, starving, freezing, perishing. The world is shipwrecked. The church is safe and sound on the everlasting shore. When it is not too busy with its psalmody and Greek sermons and theological debates, it does a little business in the line of getting a few of the wrecked worldlings ashore. But it is so particular as to its life-saving methods, so fastidious as to the kind of people it deigns to save, so tired most of the time with the whole wreckage business, that the percentage of salvation is lamentably small. Or, to change the figure, this individual rescue work of the church is like the old Abolition Underground Railway. Yonder lies slavery, and there lies Canada, the land of the free. The business of that Abolition railway system was to pick up as many slaves as possible and run them off to that land of the free. Yonder lies the world in the slavery of sin, and there lies heaven the home of the free. The business of the Church is to catch as many of these slaves of sin as possible and run them off to that other world, the heaven of the free. Oh, my brethren, believe me, believe me, we the Church, have inverted God's truth. This world is not a wreck, not a

the name of "Righteousness" and at once I am at home. citizen. I march unchallenged comes it, then, that here on has arrogated to itself the You might as well think corner on oxygen. The cor- cally absurd, religiously m simply the reign of God peace and divine joy have the sun, touching and It is the business of all take in the vital effluence he lives we live also. penetrate to the areas and flowers and trees of the divine, eternal souls and get its life in the Holy Ghost. Have you never heard above? Now there neys, no pet just almoners of this work of God. From It is every soul vital touch with every and Providence. The indi- touch lives with pervasively from above, joy in the the- the agency business is materialize

He made it. It is made of one blood all the earth. He loves the for it. He has re- of heaven is here and joy in the Holy Ghost pressing in upon every sons of God, soldiers of the kingdom. We are kingdom; administrators of everything that touches a son Father, and from his heart generation throughout His uni- of these little ones, it were not been born. It were better hanged about his neck, and he

We are corrected as to the scope clearly that everything that of God is the immediate vital let us make haste to correct and adopt a method commen- work. The individual method the world method is for the very clear here, and be sure that every and Providence. The indi- at first the Church method. "Philip from above," as the little group is large and pours out upon them the pen- They are instantly trans- the world. "Speaking to every man We soon find this

These things in the individual method, pushed thing outside. It must meet questions the sole The status of the family, the outside relations and prerogatives of civil church and powers of the church in-

creased, the scope and range of its administration extended, till the church of Christ became one of the potent factors in the world's history. Divine Providence has forced the church into action and reaction with the world until to-day we find the church surrounded by a Christian civilization, with its multiplied institutions and agencies, the mightiest the world has ever known. What right have we to say that our civilized Christian government is in the secular order? It is a suicidal assertion. For our Christian government is the noblest offspring of the Church's life. What right have we to say that our great Christian cities, the aggregation and summation of all that is highest and fairest in our Christian civilization, is a creation of the world. This is deliberately to take the sword of power and place its hilt in the hand of the devil, while we attempt to cling to its keen edge with our naked fingers. "Politics in the pulpit!" Woe to the Christian church that has no politics in its pulpits. And woe to the Christian government that has no pulpits in its politics. These Christian governments are ours. We have made them possible in the earth from the national capital down to the country school house, and if we do not take their powers into clean hands, reverent, prayerful hands, and wield them for the kingdom of God, we commit a crime against our own flesh and blood. This cry of secularity from the church respecting all civil institutions is an unnatural ostrich cry, leaving the eggs in the sand to be brooded by the sun or crushed by the foot. After two thousand years of founding and building is it not high time for the church to begin to use great truths and to wield the great powers of the social and civil mechanism of the Christian civilization which the church has mothered and nursed in the earth? Why, think for a moment what the principle of civil and religious liberty has achieved on these shores. At first that was an individual question. One man became an independent, then found his brother and converted him. Then that forlorn little group of families landed in our wilderness. How small, how individual was everything? But as numbers and strength came, liberty claimed all. All the new institutions, all the new

forms of government, all the acquisitions of wealth, all the better social conditions. Liberty dominated, fashioned, wielded, till now she bears the sceptre of the mightiest national system that the world has ever seen, and her word has gone out to the ends of the earth. The religion of Jesus Christ should to-day hold the throne of thrones among the Christian nations. But this wicked, suicidal doctrine of secularism has thrown her back upon the narrow theory of individualism. So she is shorn of her rightful dominion and the right arm of her power is broken. Again, I say, the field of the individual is the individual soul. The field of the church is the *world*; until the kingdoms of this world become the kingdom of our God and of his Christ; until righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost cover the nations as the waves of the sea. The next great battle of Armageddon must be the assembling of the hosts of the kingdom of God to recover this lost territory of civil government and subdue it unto the name of Almighty God and wield it for his purposes.

Now, friends, do not lose your patience at this long detour. Good generalship will take a month to reach the strategic point for a battle that lasts but a day.

When I say now that the first business of the Church is to redeem the ballot, and put it to the uses of the kingdom, we have the total significance of the church in all its characteristics and relations back of us pressing imperatively to the conclusion: What is the ballot? The fairest fruit of our Christian civilization. What is the ballot? It is the final utterance of a man. It is your manhood come to blossom. There *you* are focussed in one intense expression in this divine order of government. You cannot show me a more comprehensive, more sacred thing on the earth than the ballot in a Christian government. Now, I ask, is it not the instinct of every Christian man to wield all highest powers for the kingdom? to wield himself like a sword for defense and smiting in behalf of righteousness, peace and joy in the Divine Spirit? Will not all Christian men then vote together solidly, in regiments, in battalions, an army equipped with

that last best God's armature—a Christian ballot? What is the strategic point in this contest for the recovery of the ballot to Christian uses? Why, plainly the city. Here we have no extended territory of abstract, divisive questions. No debatable ground as to general policies of government. The sole issue is, shall this small civic body, the municipality, whose only business is with simple housekeeping economics, be put into good hands or bad hands? Shall this comparatively small group of families live wastefully or conservatively? Shall they live in cleanliness or filth? Shall the members of the kingdom of righteousness insist that the conditions of righteous living shall prevail in every inch of the municipal territory, or shall they tamely hand over to the agents of the devil certain sections of territory which are forthwith transformed into a Sodom for the damnation of both soul and body? Shall the men of the kingdom of heaven divide into feeble warring factions, while the sons of Belial, political brigands, actual murderers, thieves, and all-around villians march into the offices of power? This is not a political question, can not be made one. It is a question purely of household economy, of family morality. Shall the kingdom of heaven prevail here or the kingdom of the devil? Here in the city the two kingdoms join issue at the fiery edge of the practical life. The man who narrows his citizenship down to loyalty to his party; the man who orders the Church of Christ off the field, saying, go home to your business of catching and converting individual sinners, are both alike traitors to Christian institutions, and not fit for the kingdom of God. Here is the first place, the strategic place, for the church to rally as one man and put the ballot to the purposes of the kingdom of heaven in clearing a space about her of the works of darkness that the conditions of the kingdom may be established and the children of the kingdom grow up into its normal life.

Again; we will not go to the polls more than once with the reclaimed Christian ballot before we find ourselves compelled to restore the city to the divine order from which it has fallen. We will find ourselves in an entirely different

attitude respecting the problems of city life. We shall no longer regard the city as simply the theatre of our own personal selfish operations, a field for making money whether or no, and spending it as we like. A restored Christian ballot of course means a restoration of all civic institutions to the Christian order. And that means that the city, one of the mightiest instruments of our Christian civilization, shall be wielded for righteousness. And beware, friends, that you do not say in your hearts just here, that is the vision of a dreamer, the far-off divine event of a prophet. It is just that unbelief which mothers our indifference, and our indifference begets our wasteful, criminal use of our resources. In every city in our land to-day the bulk of the property is in Christian hands. The weight of social and civic influence is with the church. In most cases the majority of votes, and in all cases the balance of power are with us, the children of the kingdom. Therefore the multiplied abominations of municipal life couch at our door. The possibilities of righteous administration beckon in God's name to you and to me. Brethren, somehow we must bring our conscience to stand in awe of that dark responsibility, and to kindle to ardor and purpose before that glorious possibility. It is all narrowed down to a simple question of using Christian powers in behalf of the kingdom. What right have you to tamely hand over, year after year, your Christian taxes for foul hands to seize and to put to destructive uses before your very eyes? What right have you to march to the polls under the whip of some political knave and meekly lay down your Christian ballot in behalf of some remote factitious issue, while civic waste and corruption and misrule are running riot up to the very doors of your churches and schools and homes? What right have you to compel your neighbor's children and your own children to walk streets set thick with death traps for both soul and body? What right have you and I Christian men to rest under even a shadow of responsibility for slums and tenement horrors, and gambling hells, and dives? What right have you and I to suffer a generation of citizens to grow up under the powerful object lessons of filthy, ill-kept

streets, slipshod, knavish public work, official corruption and malfeasance flaunted in every paper. Saloons outnumbering Christian institutions twenty to one; civic office fallen so low that it is spurned by self-respecting men? I tell you the young man who runs that gauntlet and retains his integrity has saved his citizenship "as by fire," and with shame I add no thanks to the church. He "escaped with the skin of his teeth." If the church would get into righteous relation with the municipal life, it must hold that the city is simply one great common home for God's children. One great house with many compartments for a common family life. Then just as we covet earnestly righteousness, peace and joy in God, each man for his own home, will we together covet the same powers and graces of the kingdom for the larger life of our city.

I am glad that the Bible closes with the vision of a city. The travail and labor and mystery of human life all done; the gates of a glorious city lift up their heads at our coming. There, gathered together in one, the funded riches and possibilities of human life carried up into the last, best forms of the spirit; that is the final expression, the epitome of the things which God has prepared for them that love him.

This vision is likewise a parable. The redemption of the city is the goal of our civic life.

HOW TO BRING PUBLIC SENTIMENT TO BEAR UPON THE CHOICE OF GOOD PUBLIC OFFICIALS: THROUGH THE PRIMARIES.

ALFRED BISHOP MASON, NEW YORK.

From Maine to Oregon we have swiftly won the right to a free vote and a fair count. The experience of Australia has become the example of America. The Boston wit who said it was impossible to tell what a man would do when he was alone with his God and a lead-pencil, has proven a true prophet, a prophet of profit to the voter, of loss to the boss. The handwriting in the ballot-booth is the handwriting on the wall to our municipal Belshazzars. But it is not the end. It is but the beginning of the end. The city boss, when he was enthroned on a heap of plundered ballot-boxes and throttled voters and forged returns, used to say: "Let who will cast the votes of my city as long as I do the counting." Thrust from this bad eminence by the blow of the Australian boomerang, he has sought the refuge of his last ditch and now pins his faith to the simple creed: "Let who will cast the votes as long as I and my brother boss of the opposite party choose all the candidates for whom the votes are cast." And as long as we leave him safe in this simple creed, we are simpletons and we deserve to wear his yoke.

Four remedies are suggested in the scheme for this Conference. It is proposed to act (1) through the primaries; (2) by selection from regular candidates; (3) by occasional independent nominations; (4) through permanent municipal parties.

As to occasional independent nominations, we probably all agree. But this is reform by jerks. No smooth, continuous progress is thereby possible. Despotism may be tempered by assassination, but there are still emperors in Russia.

Occasional outbursts may shake, but can never overturn the thrones of our municipal Czars.

As to selection from regular candidates, my heart refuses to throb with joy over the privilege in New York of choosing between Mr. Croker's nominees and Mr. Platt's nominees. I do not wish to vote for either Pontius Pilate or Barabbas. Selecting one of them is not natural selection. It is most unnatural.

As to a permanent municipal party, divorced from national politics, I fear the decree of divorce would speedily be reversed in the court of last appeal. While dreams, even of the most iridescent variety, sometimes do come true and greatly amaze thereby the practical politician, this particular dream is of a reform against human nature. The platforms from which it is preached should be pitched in the Elysian Fields, not on the rougher rendezvous of a triumphant democracy.

The theory of the primary is perfect. The practices of the primary are not. But in reform, as in other things, it is wise to proceed along the line of least resistance. If existing agencies, if customary forms, can be used, this is far better. What is, is apt to be crystallized common sense. The thing that is may have been twisted awry, may be distorted, may be overlaid with foreign matter, but its very existence is an argument and a strong argument that in a more perfect form it ought to exist. If our pear tree ceases to bear pears, we use the pruning-knife on its branches, not the axe at its root.

Two methods of abolishing the abuse and preserving the use of the primary system have been proposed. One of them, strongly urged in the recent message of Gov. Werts of New Jersey, may be called the New Jersey plan; the other the New York plan. They agree in the fundamental idea of putting the primaries under the protection of the Australian ballot. They differ in the methods of carrying out this idea.

The New Jersey plan provides for what it calls "nominating elections," at which the regular candidates of all parties are designated by the voters of all parties, each voting for only his own party's candidates. The ballots used are

supplied by the state and contain the names which are certified to the official printing them by (1) the machine; (2) any recognized faction of the party; and (3) any considerable number of persons of the same party. Vacancies occurring before election are filled in all cases by the machine alone.

It will be noted that this plan tends rather to strengthen the machine in its present form. It gives the people a chance to kill an improper nomination without paying the price we paid in New York last November, when an overwhelming Democratic majority had to turn over the State to the minority party as the only way to defeat its own unfit candidate, to save the honor of the bench and to preserve the public respect and reverence for the law. But the New Jersey plan leaves the great mass of each party out of touch with its machine and with no chance to control it. This would perpetuate the very abuses which it is sought to check. In New York, for instance, there are two factions in the Democratic party. There is the faction of Mr. Cleveland's enemies, which is opposed *to* him, and the faction of Mr. Cleveland's friends, which is opposed *by* him. It is of great national import that this feud should cease. The New Jersey plan of primary reform would certainly do nothing to this end, and would probably, by increasing the importance of the machine, tend to widen the breach instead of closing it.

The New York plan on the other hand, delivers the machine into the hands of the people. Nominations are to be made as they are now, by conventions, but every delegate to those conventions must be chosen at official primaries, where every member of the party can vote as freely and as secretly as he now does at the polls, and where any considerable number of persons can not only have any names they wish put on the official ballots, but can put inside the voting place their own judge and clerk of election. That is a simple plan. Three pages of print would cover the proposed law, whereas the New Jersey act requires thirty. But note what this simple little plan does. It calls together every year or two all the voters of each party and says to them: "You will now choose, freely and with safe secrecy, not your

nominees for elective office, but the men who will choose those nominees, and who, moreover, will *make the machine* of your party until you meet again." Thus the machine becomes co-extensive with the party and with that accomplished, bossism as we know it now will cease to be. It is the *imperium in imperio* which works woe—the Prætorian guard, the janissaries, the Hill machine, the Quay machine. Ever the lesser sways the greater and sways it to lesser and baser and meaner ends.

Under any system of government which depends upon the consent of the governed, a political machine is a necessity. Its necessity increases in proportion to the number of persons entitled to vote. And the more permanent it is, the more effective it is. It is universal in America. It is becoming a more potent and constant factor in England, as the power of the people increases there. Somebody must collect rather large sums of money, must arrange for meetings, must supply speakers, must distribute documents, must organize clubs, must arouse enthusiasm, must call primaries and conventions, and must get the sluggish or indifferent voter to the naturalization court, the registration booth and the polls, and must provide the party's quota of clerks and judges to receive and count and certify the votes. The organization which does this work is the machine. So far it is not only a necessity, but a blessing. When in addition it controls primaries, packs conventions, dictates nominations, levies assessments on candidates and criminals, and buys votes with offices and with money, it is a curse.

But it is a fair question whether under our present system these accursed functions are not inevitable. Ordinary human nature finds its spokesman too often in that deathless man in *Life*, who said there was only one thing in the world he couldn't resist, and that was temptation. If our laws and customs hold out irresistible temptations to the local politician, he can not resist and must succumb. He adapts himself to his environment. If you do not wish a tiger to grow bloodthirsty, it is wise not to leave raw meat within its reach. By law and by custom we have created

the opportunities. So a local machine of one party assesses the men who bet on the turn of a card and promises them protection in return; and a national machine of the other party assesses the men who bet on the turn of a tariff and promise them Protection in return. The *tu quoque* argument makes neither wrong a right. But its undeniable existence shows that we must seek a general remedy for a general evil, not a local cure for a local crime.

Under the New York plan, the majority of each party would carry its primaries, control its conventions, choose its candidates, make its machine. These are the ends to be reached. This is the way to reach them. In municipal matters the reform of the primary is the primary reform of all. It is the one safe foundation on which we can build up by the Hudson and by the Delaware great cities which shall fitly represent and be the glory of America.

HOW TO BRING PUBLIC SENTIMENT TO
BEAR UPON THE CHOICE OF GOOD PUBLIC
OFFICIALS: BY MEANS OF SELECTION
FROM THE CANDIDATES OF THE REGU-
LAR PARTIES AND BY MEANS OF THE
OCCASIONAL NOMINATION OF INDEPEND-
ENT CANDIDATES.

BY SAMUEL B. CAPEN, BOSTON.

In attempting to answer the question that has been assigned to me I would say, First, that there should be in every city some permanent organization or Municipal League composed of men of character and recognized ability, known not to be aspirants for public office, in whom the community can fully trust and whose judgment and final action upon public matters will be generally accepted. Its members should be known and its meetings, so far as possible, open to the public. We need at the very start something definite around which the best public sentiment in the community can rally and in which it can trust. There is great moral force in all our cities, but so long as it is latent it is powerless. Acting upon this idea, we have in Boston made a federation of the various moral forces of the city. We have in our city scores of clubs and organizations, religious, civic and philanthropic, which represent, in a large measure, the intelligence and conscience of the city. We have limited the membership of our League at present to two hundred, believing that a compact body of such a number, composed of well-known and representative men, will be better able to discuss profitably and intelligently our various municipal problems than would be possible in a larger organization. Ward or local leagues we hope will follow and have some very close and definite connection with the central body. In order to keep in touch with all the moral interests of the

city, preference in membership is given to members of our various religious, civic, philanthropic, business and labor organizations, and the Constitution further provides that there shall be no condition of race or creed, but that all in sympathy with the purposes of the League shall be alike eligible for its membership. To prevent the organization from ever falling into the hands of any special class or sect, it is provided that no organization shall be represented in the League by more than seven members, and upon the Executive Committee there shall never be but one representative of any organization represented in the League. To prevent the management from ever falling into the hands of a few men, it is required that there shall be at least two new members chosen upon the Executive and Membership Committee each year, and no person can hold any office in the municipal government of Boston and at the same time be an officer in this League.

The objects of this League are to keep before our citizens the necessity of their taking an active interest in public affairs; to discuss and shape public opinion upon all questions which relate to the proper government of our city; to separate municipal politics from State and National politics; to secure the nomination and election of municipal officers solely on account of their fitness for the office, and to encourage every wise project for the promotion of the good order, prosperity and honor of Boston.

We already have in our membership men of every creed and sect and class, and standing together upon this broad platform of unselfish loyalty to our city and her highest interests, we mean to create a public sentiment that it is disloyalty for any man to neglect his civic duties now. We mean, by discussion, to create a public sentiment which can be crystalized into definite action, and to influence the nomination and election of men of character irrespective of their party affiliations; for let it never be forgotten that the solution of the city problems must be found in *men*, clean, pure, fearless, intelligent *men*.

To be still more definite in answering the question

"How we shall bring public sentiment to bear upon the choice of good public officials," I would say,

First,—That we must keep more constantly before the people the *perils* to which we are exposed, and the menace to the safety of our free institutions, because of the corrupt governments of most of our large cities. In the light of the present day, was not Wendell Phillips right when he prophesied that the correct solution of the problem of our great cities would test our free institutions more severely than our struggle with human slavery?

Too many of our people have gone on in a free and easy sort of way, as though a beneficent Providence was going to care for this nation any way. It is time for us to be awakened from this dream and see the situation as it is, otherwise there will be nothing accomplished. The first gun at Fort Sumter, in 1861, showed the nation its real danger, broke down all party lines and made one united North. In some way people must be aroused to see our new peril, or there will never be that uniting of forces, irrespective of all national political lines, which is necessary to recapture and hold our cities for righteous and just and clean government.

And the first peril to which we need call especial attention is the *indifferentism* of so many of our so-called best citizens, because of a feverish desire to become *rich*. Since 1860 the wealth of America has increased from fifteen to over fifty billions of dollars. In this intense age of steam and the telegraph, where wealth has accumulated so rapidly, the very atmosphere we breathe has been surcharged with worldliness, and large numbers of our best citizens have neglected public affairs, leaving them too often to be controlled by the selfish and unprincipled. So keen an observer as Bishop Potter, in an address before the New York Chamber of Commerce, after speaking of our wonderful wealth, has said: "There can not be great wealth without great temptation to indolence, to vice, and to political and social corruption. There can not be great wealth in idle hands—the hands of those who have not made it—without an accentuation of

those dangers." Too many have been willing that any one should care for the public interests if only they could be allowed to continue their mad race for wealth and the social engagements which wealth usually brings. We must press the point constantly that those who are rich and neglect their civic duties must be put into the front rank of what we call the "dangerous classes."

Second.—We must keep constantly before our people the peril which comes through the inferior quality of much of our *immigration* during the past few years, and the necessity for some more positive and protective legislation. I do not wish to be misunderstood upon this point. Some of the best citizens this nation has ever had, some of the most loyal, were born on foreign soil. We have welcomed in the past, and shall always welcome all of good character from every race and people. But an increasing number of those who are now coming are vicious, degraded, ignorant and are opposed to all forms of government. The best immigrants as a whole come from the north of Europe, but this class has decreased the past ten years 65 per cent. The poorest class of immigrants as a whole come from the south and east of Europe, and this class has increased 350 per cent. In other words, where we had ten years ago 100 of the better class, we now have 35, and where we had 100 of the poorer class we now have 350. And this is not all. Many nations of the old world have bureaus to send their criminals to America. It is said that three-fourths of the British criminals come to the United States. In Switzerland the judge often says to the prisoner, so many years in prison or free transportation to the United States. Now it is neither wise nor Christian for this country to serve as a cesspool for the world, thereby putting such a strain upon our free institutions. We are draining off the depraved characters which have been created by foreign despotism, thus enabling those despots to live when they had better die. If they were compelled to take care of these dangerous classes there would either be an uprising which would put an end to their standing armies and their

despotisms, or they would be obliged to move towards the light themselves. One of the last of the words of Bishop Brooks was one of his best: "The trusteeship of our land for humanity, we can never go back upon that; but it may be in order for us to stand guard over the quantity in order that we make more sure of the quality of those whom we welcome to our new world." But until we do put on more restrictions, this increasing army of ignorant and depraved men which centre largely in our cities is a constant and an increasing danger.

And it ought to be noted at this point that it is this great mass of ignorant voters that makes our city problem in this country so much more difficult than if we had the conditions which prevail abroad. Our city population is *heterogeneous and foreign*, while European cities are largely homogeneous and native, and speak the same language. A few years ago in London, out of every 100 residents 63 were natives of London, 94 of England and Wales and 98 of Great Britain and Ireland. In America some of our large cities have a population one-half to three-quarters of which can fairly be classified as foreign, and speaking different languages. The ignorance of much of this class can be inferred from an incident which occurred recently. The voters in one city ward were told that unless they deposited two dollars with a certain saloon-keeper in that ward, their vote would not be counted! they wanted to vote and the money was deposited.

I should overrun the proper length of this paper if I should take time to dwell upon other perils that occur to you all; The Saloon, the Social Evil, the Gambling Hell, the Filthy Tenement House; all of which are most dangerous in our cities.

I hope I have said enough to make a background for what is to follow. For I repeat, unless our people can be made to see their dangers, we can expect nothing but continued indifference. With these perils in mind we believe—

First, That the important thing to be done in order to have better city officials, either from the regular parties or as independent candidates, requires an *entire change in the basis*

of our representation. Many, I think I might say most, of our present evils would never have occurred if we had had in the past few years some fair method of *proportional or minority representation.* The dividing of a city into small districts, from each one of which a representative is chosen by a majority of the voters, leaving the minority unrepresented, really destroys government by the people. Those who are in the minority in a district, conscious of their helplessness, become apathetic, while the professional politician becomes bold and reckless. The remedy is a very simple one; abolish small districts and let every voter feel, through proportional representation, that his vote will count in some way. While the rule then, as now, would be in the hands of the majority, as it ought to be, the minority would have the full representation to which its members entitled it. On our present plan voters who want the best things may be able to control hardly a single district, and be, therefore, wholly unrepresented. But on the new basis proposed, the minority would be represented, and they would have at least sufficient representation to prevent great abuse.

To illustrate, we may have six districts with 2000 votes each. 1050 of one party or class and 950 of another. The six times 1050 or 6300 would have all the representation, and six times 950 or 5700 would be unrepresented. Is this just? It is no answer to say that one party has the majority in one district and the other in another, and one offsets the other. It is *unjust* in *both* cases to have the minority without representation, and two acts of injustice do not make one act of justice.

De Tocqueville was not far from right when he said that "If ever the free institutions of America are destroyed, that event may be attributed to the unlimited authority of the majority, which may at some time urge the minorities to desperation." A prominent citizen of New York State has furnished me with the following figures which well illustrate the matter before us.

The voters of New York elected a board of twenty-five Aldermen in November, 1891. The total vote cast was about

234,000, and was divided as follows, after making proper deductions for combination candidates :—

Tammany,	120,000
Republican,	80,000
County Democracy,	9,400
New York Democracy,	18,600
Prohibition,	1,200
Socialist,	4,800

Under the plan of proportional representation, the Board of Aldermen would have stood as follows :—

Tammany,	13
Republican,	9
County Democracy,	1
New York Democracy,	2

As elected, however, Tammany had 19 and all others 6. The same year the city of Buffalo elected nine select councilmen, eight from one party and one from the other. Upon a proportional representation plan, the result would have been five to four, which was about the political complexion of the community at that time. In fact we are deluding ourselves with the idea that we have a representative government, when we have not, and shall not have until we provide for a just representation of the minority.

Is not then this the *first* movement to be made by all in every part of the country interested in municipal reform. We cannot carry through the other reforms needed, because we can not have our proper representation in the places of legislation. We can not elect enough good public officials, either along party lines or as independents, in sufficient numbers until we have justice at this point. Let us agitate then (1), for the abolition of the district systems in all our cities ; (2), for the election of all officers upon a general ticket ; (3), and for proportional representation, to be followed later on by some system of cumulative voting or of preferential representation. When we do this what have we accomplished.

1. We have struck a heavy blow to the ward politician and to ward politics.

2. It would have a tendency to cause all parties to nominate their strongest and best men. The local politician with only a local following would have a very indifferent chance of election when compelled to run the gauntlet of a whole city. We shall have larger, broader men, whose thoughts will no longer be centred upon their small districts, but upon the larger interests of the city as a whole; and petty and local ambitions, which are so expensive to the tax-payers, will be minimized.

3. Many voters would be set free from the dominion of the ward politician and gradually educated to make their votes count for those who would govern the city on a business basis for the greatest good of all.

4. It would have a tendency to make independent voting, and divorce voters more and more from the control of the local boss, and prevent their blindly following party leaders.

5. It would reduce materially the "dumb vote," for those who now remain away from the polls because they are in districts hopelessly opposed to their way of thinking would be conscious that their vote would count and be represented.

6. Finally it will be possible to call into public service citizens who have largely held aloof when the district system is the law, partly because of the doubt of being elected and partly because they were not sure of any helpful support from others if elected.

By this new plan a considerable proportion of those who represent the best things will be certain of election, and will have enough of kindred mind with them to be a power for good. John Stuart Mill has well said that "minority representation solves the difficulty and by so doing raises up the cloud which hung over the future of representative government and therefore over civilization."

Second.—We expect as a league to go personally to men of high character and ability and lay upon their consciences the solemn obligations at personal sacrifice to *accept position*

of public trust at the call of their fellow-citizens. Unless the State can command the service of its best citizens it is useless to hope for any improvement in public matters. This unwillingness on the part of men of high character to hold public office is in some respects our most serious peril. A son of Harvard College, who gave his life for his country, wrote to a friend just before his last battle, "Remember that the useful citizen holds his time, his trouble, his money and his life ready at the hint of his country. The useful citizen is a mighty unpretending hero, but we are not to have a country very long unless such heroism is developed." And we might add in the same strain, unless our best citizens are ready to give up their money-getting and their pleasure-seeking and their personal comfort, bad men will get such control that their money will have little value and their homes will have but little of pleasure for them. The leading citizens of one of our great cities within a year went to four prominent men in succession entreating them to sacrifice their personal interests for two years for the public good, but all refused to do it. If men who have the protection of the State and who owe all their success to our institutions can not be appealed to in the nation's interest to whom shall we go? If men are now indifferent, when may we expect them to be in earnest? If we believe that the hope of the world is in the preservation on a high plane of this free republic, then men must be willing to see others pass them in worldly things while they sacrifice themselves for the public weal. Men sneer now very often if a man accepts office. We must create a public sentiment which when it speaks shall say to all, that it is just as honorable to be an officer in our cities and towns as to be a warden or elder or deacon in a church or an overseer in Harvard University.

We believe that the time has fully come to scrutinize more carefully than ever the *character* of the men for whom we vote. I am aware that there are some who say, if a man has ability for public service we have no right or necessity to scrutinize his private character. I believe such a position is wrong and pernicious, and that we should set our faces

against it. When a man accepts a public trust, it is the man as a whole that becomes a part of public life. His personal vices then become public crimes. It is impossible to have public integrity and private dishonesty; public morality and private impurity. And the other side is equally true, that a man can not be a saint in his personal life and a scoundrel in his political actions. If he is bad at any point we will not vote for him. The word "candidate" is from a Latin word meaning "white," because such persons at one time in Rome wore white garments in token that they had unspotted lives. We want in our candidates not that their garments should be pure, but their inner lives. No man ought to be eligible for public office whose private character is stained in any way. Lord John Russell once said: "It is of the nature of party in England to ask the assistance of men of genius but to follow the guidance of men of character." It is not so much better methods that we want *as better men*. It is time for the best men in this country to step to the front and insist more vigorously than ever upon this point, and to remember always the words of Lowell: "That a country that is worth saving is worth saving all the time."

Third.—We believe that after the League has secured the consent of such men as have been described to accept public office, the parties will be almost compelled to nominate them. Parties always have existed in this country and they always will. In National or State matters they seem to be a necessity; in municipal matters they are absurd. This latter point will be referred to later. As things stand to-day it is usually wiser for a man to belong to some party, and, of course, he will belong to that one which, on the whole, best represents the principles in which he believes. Acting always as an independent, his power for good is greatly lessened. Unless our best citizens do their duty in these respects, the selfish and unprincipled men who are in all parties will get the supremacy. But a man is released from all obligations to his party if it selects a candidate of questionable character. We have no right to be blindly led in

any such way. If such men are nominated, then we are bound to do all in our power to defeat them; there is no other way so effective to prevent the nomination of unfit or corrupt men. As a party machinery is already in existence, if either one of them will put in nomination such men as we may suggest, or others equally good, then we will support them, not because a party nominates them, but because of their fitness. If the old parties refuse to do this, then we propose to nominate our own ticket in part or in whole as the case may require. As rapidly as possible, however, and as fast as we can create public sentiment, we must work for the consummation of the idea that the *management of municipal government along party lines is absolutely absurd*, and the only wonder is that sensible Americans have tolerated the present methods so long. Our city governments are corporations holding a charter from the Commonwealth, and it is as senseless to govern them along the line of national politics as it would be to govern a railroad or a life insurance company in that way. Prof. Fiske has put the same truth in this form: that, "to elect a city magistrate because he is a Republican or a Democrat, is about as sensible as to elect him because he believes in homeopathy or has a taste for chrysanthemums." And the city corporation should be different from most others in that it should have a *soul*. Business corporations exist for money-earning and profit-sharing, but a city has a higher purpose. It lives not only to protect all its children, but especially to restrain the wayward, to guard the defenseless, to care for the needy and the unfortunate, remembering that they are all the children of God. So many cling so tenaciously to their party affiliations that it will require time, patience and effort to bring about a change. George William Curtis has well said that "the remedy for the constant excess of party spirit lies, and lies alone, in the courageous independence of the individual citizen." But there will be a Declaration of Independence from all partisan politics some day in all our cities, and then the great curse at the present time of the local boss and the ward politician will disappear, for they have no place in a business corporation with moral purposes.

To recapitulate what I have tried to make clear, I would say, the solution to this question proposed must come through some definite planning and action by organization formed for this sole end. We may feel sure that all good citizens are alike interested in honest government. The poor man needs good schools, streets, sewerage, even more than the rich. He lives in the city in the heat of the summer, and can not escape, like the rich man, from the unhealthy sanitary conditions which are the most perilous at that time. Waste and extravagance, which add to the tax bill, is a greater burden to him in his scant income than to his wealthy neighbor. And there are always more good men than bad; the number of office-holders and those who can get rich at the public expense is small compared with the great mass of the people. *The trouble has been to get the good men to act in unison.* The machine is all powerful because the best citizens do not work together. Goethe has said that "Piety is a close bond, but ungodliness is a closer." Such a statement is shocking, but is it not true? Are not the saloons in closer touch than the churches in all matters that relate to our municipal affairs? Independents are good to point out an evil, but battles are not won by sharp-shooters. *We must meet combinations of evil with combinations of good,* and we must have some staying qualities in these organizations. The machine politicians must smile at the hysterical attempts that are made every little while just before elections to overthrow the "ring," attempts which are sure to accomplish nothing. To conquer the machine entrenched in office and organized to the last man, by any such spasmodic efforts would be ludicrous if the issues were not so serious. We must plan a campaign and must expect many a Bull Run and Chancellorsville before we reach our Gettysburg and Appomatox Court House. The machine which controls in so many of the cities of this country is going to be defeated only by an organization which is persistent, fearless, and unselfish. And there is all the difference in the world between such a league and a machine—one has moral convictions, the other has none. One is like a fountain and lives to bless others; the other is like a sponge

and sucks everything to itself. One is light, the other is darkness.

The best men in our cities, any time they will, can come together as on other business questions and have any government they want. We have no one to blame but ourselves for our present conditions ; apathy, indifference and neglect have done their work.

We Americans have been altogether too easy. We grumble and find fault, but we had rather suffer inconvenience, pay a higher rate of taxes, and see things in general deteriorate, than to spend our time and efforts in making changes. It is not a scientific lecture on the anatomy of the human body that a hungry man needs ; it is something to eat. It is not mere talk in clubs and conventions we need so much now, as to organize and go to work.

I hope no one will feel that those who are especially urging the formation of these non-partisan leagues do not realize the difficulties in the way of success. But because there are difficulties, is that a reason for despair ; shall we plead the baby act ? When shall we be any stronger to begin the struggle ? We all know that the cities are growing out of all proportion to the country districts. It is one of the phenomena of this century the world over. At the present rate of increase the cities will control this nation in 1920. Do we want these great cities as at present governed to hold this power ? If not, then our best citizens of every race and creed must come together, forgetting the things that have in the past divided and laying the emphasis now on the things which we hold in common. In the British army, when on parade, the soldiers in the different army corps are designated by a little badge on the lapel of the coat. But when the battle begins the lapel is turned over and all distinctions are gone. Facing our common perils, is it not full time to forget all our differences and organize together to save our cities and through them the land we love to call our own.

MUNICIPAL PARTIES.

BY CHARLES RICHARDSON, PHILADELPHIA.

Although Municipal Government in America is always republican in form and based upon the theory that the people should select their own rulers, it is a well-known fact that in our large cities the control is generally usurped by a small minority or oligarchy, who select themselves or their followers for all important positions.

Many of these gentlemen seem to share that spirit of eager appropriation which animated ancient Pistol, and might exclaim with equal force, "Why, then the city is our oyster, which we with our combine will open." Others are not without a laudable ambition to devote their lives to the public service, and to earn the gratitude of their fellow-citizens by a faithful discharge of the duties they assume. It may even be true that some of our officials, if they had the power to choose, would rather be guided by the principles of Washington and Curtis than by those of Croker and Quay.

But whether their dominant motives are good or bad, they are all alike the willing or unwilling instruments of a vicious system which makes honor and position depend not upon merit and public service, but upon superiority in "Working the Primaries," levying blackmail, or making a skillful distribution of public offices, privileges and contracts in exchange for personal or partisan services.

In criticising municipal officials and employés we are apt to forget that, while they are nominally the servants of the people, and are paid from the common treasury of the whole community, their employment and their chances of promotion or dismissal really depend upon their position and services as members of a partisan army, in which it would be as dangerous to permit the subalterns to disobey

orders as it would for the chiefs to withhold the political or pecuniary rewards for which their subordinates have agreed to serve. So long as the voters permit the offices to be treated as spoils, and won by political organizations, which are practically maintained for the express purpose of seizing and holding them, we can not hope to prevent the creation of such armies or protect the community from the evils which they necessarily inflict. If a private corporation like the Pennsylvania Railroad or the New York Central was to announce that all its departments would be put in charge of such saloon-keepers as might collect the most patrons on a given day, the frequenters of bar-rooms would be assembled in such numbers as no prohibitionist has ever dreamed of. And when it is known that the people of a great city will entrust the disposal of valuable franchises, and the assessment and disbursement of twenty or thirty millions of dollars per annum, to any combination of freebooters who can poll the most votes at the primaries of a popular party, the formation of such combinations is certain to follow. The limits of this paper will not permit a description of the familiar and demoralizing crimes which result from these conditions. With a system which makes it easy for bad men and difficult for good men to obtain power, it is inevitable that inefficiency and corruption will be common incidents in much of our municipal business, and it is idle to suppose that we can ever secure good city government until this moral octopus has been utterly destroyed.

Many persons believe, however, that it is neither necessary nor advisable to make a direct attack upon the spoils system and the political machines which it creates and maintains.

It is urged that, by bringing public opinion to bear upon the leaders in various ways, such as careful watching, frequent protests, threats of exposure, prosecutions of detected criminals, and occasionally voting for the candidates of the minority party, it is possible to keep the evils we are discussing within moderate limits, and gradually purify our politics. Some of our best citizens have expended an immense amount

of time and energy on these lines, and have obtained many more or less temporary concessions of real or apparent value. They are certainly entitled to earnest sympathy and support, although there is some plausibility in the argument that if it was not for this constant pruning and lopping off of the most dangerous branches, and if the embryo Bardsleys and Tweeds and McKanes were allowed to develop in their own way, the upas tree which produces them would soon disappear in a cyclone of popular fury. But however this may be, it is clear that this process of gradual eviction by humble entreaties and respectful protests has very definite limits, and in some cities these limits have already been so nearly reached that the character of the party nominations has ceased to show any improvement.

A tyrant may think it wise to grant a petition for the removal of an unpopular viceroy, but when his discontented subjects proceed to inform him that they would prefer to govern themselves, and therefore request that he and all his retainers will at once commit suicide, the answer is likely to be of a different character. And so with the spoilsmen, whenever they realize that the opponents of their system can never be satisfied with anything less than its final overthrow, and the complete abandonment of all that its supporters "are here for," we will find the rival factions united in a solid phalanx and standing together like a stone wall across the path of further progress. Sooner or later both the friends and the foes of the spoils system must recognize the fact that between the methods upon which it necessarily depends and those which are essential for Good City Government, there is, as Mr. Herbert Welsh has well said, a conflict as irrepressible and momentous as that which once raged between Freedom and Slavery. Compromise is as impossible as it would be between express trains going in opposite directions and meeting on a single track railroad. Nothing but the final overthrow of the present system can enable us to secure a civic administration in which honesty and capacity will be the sole basis for all appointments.

Assuming, therefore, that we have no alternative but to

enter upon a war of extermination against the spoils system in American cities, our next step must be to decide upon the methods which it will be best to adopt. These may be considered under three heads :—

1st. Legislation.

2d. Efforts to force the nomination of anti-spoils candidates by the regular parties.

3d. The organization of independent municipal parties with power to make their own nominations.

It might seem that the wisest and most direct course would be to apply to the legislatures for stringent civil service laws which would take all subordinate positions out of politics, and thus at one blow deprive our present masters of both objects and means for future campaigns. We may safely assume that every advocate of Municipal Reform is heartily in favor of legislation of this kind, but the impotence of good laws, when administered by those whom they are intended to restrain, has often been illustrated, and the prospect of securing the speedy enactment and strict enforcement of such statutes is not encouraging.

State legislators and municipal officials are beginning to understand what the letter and spirit of genuine civil service reform really mean, and the consequence is that they generally regard it as a concentrated essence of deadly poison and are determined that they will never voluntarily touch, taste or handle the unclean thing.

In regard to efforts to force the nomination of anti-spoils candidates by the leading parties, we must remember that their political machines are not designed, and can not be adapted, to the selection of candidates who are opposed to the methods by which, and to the objects for which, the activity of their "workers" is maintained. Their rules provide that all who failed to support a bad nomination at the preceding election may be ruled out, at the primaries, as voters or candidates, and it is a familiar truth that the defeat of a majority of the Ring delegates can only be accomplished

by an amount of time, combination, and arrangement which can not be expected from men engaged in other business.

Much has been said in regard to the practical and apparently insuperable difficulties in the way of carrying a majority of the primaries of the regular parties in favor of good candidates. But even if those difficulties could be permanently overcome, there would still remain the fatal objection that the intrusion of national parties and national issues into purely municipal elections must necessarily divide the honest majority into opposing forces, prevent them from combining against the mercenary and unscrupulous minority who are readily united against public interests, and make it difficult if not impossible for the people to decide according to the merits of the candidates, or express their wishes in regard to local affairs.

The comparative ignorance and apathy of the people in connection with municipal questions, is largely due to the cunning of political leaders in carefully avoiding the introduction of local issues, and in urging the voters to be guided solely by their national preferences.

This ingenious strategy is greatly aided by the common belief that, as the tickets are chosen by similar methods, they are likely to be equally bad, and that independent candidates have no chance of success.

The difficulties briefly referred to in this paper have led many earnest thinkers to the conclusion that it is necessary to find some practical way of separating municipal from state and national politics. It is asserted by others, that this idea is only a beautiful but utterly impossible dream, that no large proportion of the voters can ever be induced to assist in attempting to realize it, and that national parties would soon lose their vitality if "the boys" were deprived of municipal spoils. It may be answered, however, that this impossible dream has long been an accomplished and beneficent reality in other countries, and among people to whom Americans are not in the habit of conceding any superiority in intelligence or patriotism. It may also be said that the experience of England has shown that the starving out of the spoilsmen

would only open the way for a better class of men and better and stronger parties than we now have.

It would be easy to enlarge upon the conditions thus hastily sketched, but the obvious necessity for having good candidates before we can elect good officials, the impossibility of obtaining the right kind of candidates from the partisan machines, and the vital importance of excluding national issues from local contests, are in themselves sufficient to prove that the only effective means for overcoming the difficulties which we have to encounter is the organization of purely municipal parties, based upon local issues, with power to nominate their own candidates and appeal to the people at the polls whenever it may seem expedient.

Perhaps the best way to make this idea clear will be to give a brief description of some of the peculiar features of the Municipal League of Philadelphia, which may serve as an example of such an association.

It is hardly necessary to say that in regard to such subjects as removal and appointments, the granting of municipal privileges and the total exclusion of state and national issues from local contests, the principles of the League differ from the theory and practice of the spoilsmen, as light from darkness. In the details of organization and methods the contrast is equally marked.

Instead of providing for the exclusion of members who are too conscientious to vote for a bad candidate, and thus offering increased power to the leaders who make the worst nominations, the League declares that no one will be expected to support a nomination which he can not approve. When a manager, candidate or delegate to a nominating convention is to be selected, ample notice must be given and every name suggested by five members must be placed upon a blanket ballot and submitted to all the voters. Each member is thus enabled to take an equal part in the first suggestion as well as in the final selection.

But the features to which it is here desired to invite particular attention are the facilities which the League affords for bringing into mutual knowledge and co-operation

all who are anxious for municipal reform. We may safely assume that there are men of this kind in every ward and probably in every division. So long as they remain in the condition of isolated grumblers they are entirely powerless, and are regarded by the politicians with the same contemptuous indifference which is felt by a victorious army for an unarmed mob. But as soon as they can be persuaded to accept the invitation of the League and send in their names as men who are tired of Boss rule, and the abominable mismanagement and corruption to which it leads, and are willing to consider any intelligent plans for abolishing it, the mere statement of their numbers and the fact that they have found a means of communication with each other and are therefore likely to vote together when occasion requires, will give them a leadership in patriotic effort and make them a terror to every evil-doer in the city.

As the League is intended solely for service and not for dictation it imposes no restraint or obligation of any kind upon its members.

This is a strong attraction for those who believe that the right of individual judgment is one which every citizen should cherish not only for his own protection but as a sacred trust for the benefit of others. The lack of power to control the votes of members has been criticised as a weakness, but it is in reality a source of unmixed strength. Like Fitz-James' blade, it is both sword and shield, since it not only compels the League to rely solely upon the excellence of its candidates and the wisdom of its measures, but at the same time it leaves the enemy no opportunity to capture anything that he could use. No imaginary rope of sand was ever weaker than an executive body of the League would be if it should fall into bad hands.

The League is well aware of the fact that it can only move forward as public opinion will warrant, and must learn to wait as well as to labor. It indulges in no "iridescent dream" of an immediate revolution in the character of city government, and it knows that the number of those who can be induced to file their names with its secretary

must be greatly multiplied before it can attain the full measure of its usefulness. Some of its most important lines of work can hardly be entered upon at all, until it can obtain from the people additional funds, and the strength which numbers alone can give.

But this does not prevent it from being almost from the start a most admirable instrument for every kind of effort to secure good city government. Its scope includes the thorough investigation of civic problems by professional experts and by public meetings and debates in the different wards, as well as the support of wise measures, and the exposure of abuses and nefarious schemes of all kinds. It embraces also the creation and diffusion of reform sentiments by continuously attacking the conduct of the spoilsmen, condemning their candidates, detecting their crimes, and prosecuting their criminals.

In all these lines it aims to show that it is indeed the heir of all the ages of reform and in the foremost files of municipal progress.

Being organized on a purely representative basis, and composed of voters who belong to opposing parties in state and national affairs, its duly elected managers and candidates can never be opposed as partisan agents or self-appointed censors who represent no one but themselves. This gives them a position and influence not conferred by other forms of organization. A few earnest workers, and moderate subscriptions from those who can afford it, are undoubtedly necessary. But the By-Laws of the League have been so prepared that while it is practically impossible to ignore the wishes of its members, the latter can always exercise their right of control and direction, without expending more than an insignificant portion of their time and attention.

A municipal party of this kind is simply a means for combining all the elements which make for righteousness, in an organized and effective crusade against those deplorable conditions which have turned our municipal governments into schools of mismanagement, falsehood and crime, and have caused us to be branded as the civic fools of the world.

Surely there can be no higher or more imperative duty for an American citizen, than to do something, however little, towards the support of such an effort to hasten the time when our cities will be the models of the world for business-like management and civic virtue, and when an election or appointment to office in an American city will be everywhere received as an evidence of trained ability and proved integrity, which all men will delight to honor.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS.

By GEORGE G. WRIGHT.

The Library Hall Association of Cambridge is a body of well-known citizens, representing all parts of the city and a great variety of occupations and interests and of all political parties. The purposes of the Association are "to secure the nomination and election of proper candidates for municipal offices; to procure the punishment of all persons who may be guilty of election frauds, maladministration of office or misappropriation of public funds; to advocate and promote a public service based upon character and capability only; and to promote intelligent discussion of municipal affairs by the publication and distribution of reliable information in relation thereto." The greatest difficulty in municipal affairs in Cambridge has always been the lack of knowledge on the part of the average voter, whose attention is completely occupied with his own affairs, concerning the qualifications and fitness of the numerous candidates for office. To recommend such candidates as seem best qualified to carry out the objects of the Association and to secure their election has been our principal work, our city government of recent years having been practically free from corruption. Our success is due to more than twenty-five years of steady persistent work in this direction.

The population of Cambridge is about 80,000, about two-thirds native born, one-third foreign born; the native born are about equally divided between those of native parentage and those of foreign parentage; the number of assessed polls 22,489, of registered voters, 12,950. In 1892, the vote for Presidential Electors was, Democratic, 5996; Republican, 4945; Representatives to Congress, Democratic, 6044; Re-

publican, 4770. In 1893, the vote for Governor was, Democratic, 5294 ; Republican, 4681 ; Prohibition, 242.

The administration of the affairs of the city is vested in a Mayor and a City Council, consisting of a Board of Aldermen and a Common Council. The Board of Aldermen has eleven members, who, with the Mayor, are elected by the voters of the entire city. The Common Council has twenty members who are elected by the voters of their respective wards. The Mayor has the entire control of the Executive Department, but all appointments and removals are subject to the confirmation of the Board of Aldermen.

Our voters in municipal affairs are divided into two parties. One the spoils-seeking class, who seek public office for what they can make out of it personally, whose terms of office have been marked by the borrowing of money to meet current expenses, by a deceptive rate of taxation and by a largely increased expenditure of the public money. The other, the careful conservative class, who seek to administer the affairs of the city in the same way they would manage their own private affairs, who regard their public positions as a trust, whose terms of office have been marked by careful economy and by judicious expenditures ; in short, those who seek a business and not a political administration. Besides these two well defined parties there is a body of citizens taking but little interest in politics, having little knowledge of city affairs, honest, well-meaning men who, blindly seeking correct information, sometimes get it, often do not. This class have decided our municipal elections in the past in many instances.

Our elections are conducted under the Australian ballot, and the only qualifications necessary to entitle a man to vote are six months residence in the city, twelve months in the State and the ability to read the Constitution in the English language and to write his own name.

Nominations are non-partisan, made without reference to national politics and by entirely different organizations. Only two attempts have been made since 1867 to make straight party nominations for Mayor and other city officers, and in both cases the candidates for mayor took care to secure

non-partisan nominations also. The one who was nominated by the Citizens' in advance of the party convention was elected; the one who was nominated by the party convention in advance of the Citizens' was defeated. No candidate has during that time been elected to any office who had only a party nomination.

Caucuses are called by any committee of citizens, self-constituted or otherwise, even anonymously; usually, however, by a committee appointed by a municipal non-partisan convention held in the preceding year. This in a certain sense forms municipal parties. The calls are so worded, however, that there is more or less difficulty at times, caused by the presence of people who are not really in sympathy with the party calling the caucus. When this outside element gains control a new movement is started and new nominations are made. As these new movements have sometimes had to be worked up within less than a week of the day of election, it has been for some years felt that some permanent non-partisan organization was desirable. The question of No-license has also assisted the cause of good government in Cambridge by bringing out many voters who might otherwise have failed to vote upon a simple question of men.

At the municipal convention in 1884 the following resolution was referred to the Executive Committee:—

"Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the chair, to take steps during the coming year to form a permanent Citizens' Committee of from fifty to one hundred residents and taxpayers of this city, to be chosen with reference to equal representation of political parties and to act from year to year in the interest of non-partisan good government."

Several meetings were held, by-laws were adopted, etc., but no person could be found who could devote the time necessary to carry out the work on the scale intended, and the matter fell through, although the need of organization was strongly felt. In 1889 the caucuses were packed by men who were not in sympathy with the party calling them, and a decidedly unfit list of candidates for the City Council was nominated.

An unusually hard contest ensued and resulted in the complete defeat of the objectionable candidates. This renewed the desire for a permanent organization, and the Library Hall Association was formed immediately after the election. The membership is confined as far as possible to those who are known to support the principle, that the government of a city is a simple matter of business, and that the city is only an organization for doing for the whole people those things which can not be so well done by the individual. Candidates for membership may be proposed at any time, and if approved by three-fourths of the Executive Committee, can become members by signing the by-laws and paying the admission fee of one dollar.

A special meeting is called about four days before the last day for filing nomination papers, to consider the various candidates nominated for the city election, to which none but members are admitted with the sole exception of the reporters for the newspapers. For the use of the members the secretary prepares ballots containing the names of every candidate known to have been nominated, stating their residence, occupation and by whom nominated. These names are read and remarks are made in favor or against the several candidates. The members then proceed to mark their ballots, and the candidates receiving the highest number of marks are endorsed by the Association. Nomination papers are filed with the City Clerk with the endorsement of the Association for these candidates. If the Association makes an independent nomination for Mayor public meetings are held and every effort made to secure the election of the candidate; usually, however, those endorsed are nominated by some convention or caucus, and this work is then left to the party making the nomination. A campaign paper is prepared every year, containing a short account of each candidate endorsed, together with such other matter as the committee in charge consider desirable, and this paper is mailed to every voter, without any exception, whose name is upon the revised list of voters. Men are stationed at each polling place, with cards signed by the officers of the Association, containing

the names of every candidate endorsed, and these cards are given to every voter.

The results of the four elections held since our permanent organization was formed is as follows :—

MAYOR :—

1890	1891	1892	1893
Not Elected.	No Contest.	Elected.	Elected.

ALDERMEN :—

Endorsed 10	8	11	11
Elected 7	7	9	9

COMMON COUNCIL :—

Endorsed 20	20	20	20
Elected 18	18	17	18

SCHOOL COMMITTEE :—

Endorsed 5	9	No Contest.	5
Elected 5	9		5

ASSESSOR :—

No Contest.	No Contest.	No Contest.	No Contest.
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The danger of such an organization ordinarily is that it will become a machine, and from being managed in the interest of good government will be turned into a power for evil and corrupt nominations. Attracted by its success and power, ambitious and designing men will seek to become members and, having secured control of the organization, will use the power for their own selfish ends. It is always possible also that, carried away by their success or by the pride of organization, the officers of the Association may be tempted to assume the power to dictate nominations and to make trades with the various office-seekers and their friends. This is guarded against by the understanding that no member is bound by the action of the Association unless the same commends itself to his conscience as well as to his judgment. Candidates who are members receive no more favorable consideration than those not belonging to the organization,

and in many cases the Association has endorsed candidates who were not members in preference to those who were. Its action in one case resulted in the election of a candidate for Mayor who was not a member, and the defeat of another who had been a member of the Executive Committee the same year. A full report of the action of the Association being printed in all the local newspapers, and a more or less extended report in most of the Boston papers as well, the public readily see the methods used. Unless there is a substantial agreement, the endorsement loses its force and candidates who are endorsed by a small plurality are usually defeated at the polls. Consequently it would be of little value for any candidate to secure the endorsement by unfair means. The names of the members are known only to two of the officers, and no person is allowed to use the list of members for the purpose of sending appeals of any sort; neither is the list of members printed or made public in any way. Our members, having a common aim, are disposed to yield the claims of friendship if it be possible to secure an agreement thereby, but occasionally the differences are too strong for either side to yield. In such cases we part in sorrow, not in anger, and being unable to agree, we agree to disagree. On two occasions, the Association has been confronted by a situation which would have destroyed any ordinary political organization. In 1890 the friends of a gentleman who had been nominated by one of the conventions, yielded to the opposition of the majority of our Association and induced him to decline the nomination. A compromise candidate having been agreed upon at our meeting, the Convention was called together again, and nominated our candidate in the place of the gentleman who declined. Unfortunately, the change of candidates was made so late in the campaign that we were not successful. In 1892 the question between two of the four candidates being simply one of expediency, either being admitted to be satisfactory to the friends of the other; many of our members, including about one-half of our Executive Committee, would not yield their personal preference, and supported a candidate who had failed to secure our endorsement. The

candidate endorsed by the Association was elected, however, and the dissenters still retain their offices in the Association and the good-will and respect of their fellow-members.

The Association depends upon the wisdom and fairness of its action for its support, and its influence upon elections is not to be measured by the limit of its membership. Many citizens depend upon it for their guidance, all its meetings are open to the reporters of the press, and I have even been told recently, by one who declined to become a member in the beginning, that he always voted for our nominees unless he had very good reason for not so doing and considered himself to all intents one of our members. The Association does not do all that it could or should do because its officers, none of whom receive any compensation whatever, are busy men engaged in their own private affairs. It can not avail itself of the public purse, since no person holding any salaried position under the National, State or City government and no member of the City Council can hold any office in the Association and a nomination of any officer for any of those positions immediately causes a vacancy. There is a tendency on the part of many men of ability to refuse to accept public office in our city, and so far the Association has not been able to overcome this unwillingness to serve the city. We hope in time that we may be able to do something in this direction.

Our expenses are paid by our small annual assessment and the contributions of those citizens who are interested in our work. Candidates have not been assessed in the past and the statute now prohibits it.

Good city government can not be secured and maintained without constant and unceasing effort. Good men need the support and confidence which come from a well directed public opinion and corrupt men must always be made to feel the restraining influence of the opposition of a public which will tolerate no dishonesty on the part of its servants. We believe that an organization like ours can be of value in any community, provided its members are willing to work steadily through good report and through evil report, in spite of apparent defeat, regardless of the effect upon their

own political welfare. There must be a willingness to agree upon certain essential principles of good government and the utmost liberty of action for the individual as regards non-essentials. Confidence is a plant of slow growth, and to secure the confidence of the people it is desirable that the growth of the organization should be gradual, moving forward always, never backwards.

A PLEA FOR HIGH GROUND IN MUNICIPAL REFORM.

BY JOHN A. BUTLER, MILWAUKEE.

It is not at all extravagant to say that this Convention marks an era in the history of the country, and it is fittingly held in a city historically identified with the announcement of our national independence. It is fortunate that we are thus reminded of the character which gave impetus and direction to our national life. The earnestness and sincere devotion to principle which marked the heroes of the revolutionary epoch are a splendid and inspiring heritage, and should operate as a spur to the performance of our far simpler, but not less important, duty of rescuing the standards they set, and the efficacy of the institutions they established.

It is surprisingly difficult at the present day to rally men to a sincere cry of reform in any quarter; partly perhaps because "Reform" has so often been the cloak of vulgar ambition, and partly because of a growing disposition to look with undue leniency upon a low political tone from familiarity with its records, and because of indifference arising from an instinctive and characteristic faith in some ultimate remedy when the worst shall come. In any event there is an almost criminal and seemingly inexplicable neglect of public duty on the part of the people, and in a movement of this kind it is essential to stand solidly on the bed-rock of undivided allegiance to real principle, in order to command what available public spirit, energy and faith there is among the people of our American cities.

I refer, gentlemen, at the outset to the spirit of the men who fought the war of Independence, and established the government without a tinge of the spirit of "mere party," because it is only a temper and an integrity like that which

can bring about any far-reaching and valuable reforms in the cities of the United States.

I do not believe, in the rush and turmoil of our modern life, that even those of us who are immediately interested realize to its full extent the significance and necessity of the movement towards municipal reform, or the incalculable opportunities for good that are coupled with it. We are no longer a reflective people. We are continually taken up with the engrossing and bewildering panorama of every-day existence, and only get a hasty and superficial glimpse of public necessities and pressing public questions in the daily papers, in which skillful journalistic art "touches up" official misdemeanors and corruption in a way to amuse or excite a jaded interest, instead of arousing a feeling of indignant protest. In fact our world is double: we dwell and eat and sleep and transact our business in one portion of it, among earnest personal interests, and find in the public journal a sort of entertaining peephole into another portion of it, where government is conducted in a more or less amusing and irresponsible manner, by political bosses and politicians of a more or less vulgar type, with whom we have nothing in common, and for whom few realize that we are individually and collectively responsible.

I am told, gentlemen, that 20,000,000 of the people of this country dwell in cities. All social, economical and politico-moral problems come to a focus in cities. Public opinion is largely determined in, and goes forth from the press of these great centres of population, for good or evil. More important still, they are vast primary training schools in citizenship, full of object-lessons for our adopted fellow citizens, upon whose character and standards of action the future so largely depends; who come to us in a politically undeveloped state, and become better or worse, and regard our institutions with more or less respect and faith, according to what they see of municipal politics, according to the justice they receive, and the government by which their interests are so largely controlled.

I am aware, sir, that patience is an American virtue, but

the patience which degenerates into indifference to public iniquity in what concerns the prosperity and welfare not only, but inevitably and seriously, reacts upon the character of millions, in a country in which intelligent character is the very condition of existence, and is a national crime of which all men are guilty who do not lend their energies and voices in resolute and vigorous protest.

It may be urged in many quarters that public officials are seldom actual thieves and robbers in any American city; and I reply that single conspicuous instances of actual crime which come to the light of day, and are promptly met with punishment, are salutary in their ultimate results, compared with widespread incompetence, and an all-pervading and intangible corruption which lowers the general tone of life, and penetrates every fiber of the body politic like an enervating and corrupting disease, from the primaries up to the nominating convention, and through every branch of civic official life. That general atmosphere of demoralization and want of healthy tone exists wherever municipal finances are loosely and unwisely managed. It exists wherever men who never knew how to manage the disposal of hundreds, are entrusted with the disposal of millions. It exists wherever public office is regarded as a legitimate prize which every one should have in turn, instead of a post of serious public duty, and single-minded devotion to the people's service. It begins wherever a few politicians interested in "the party" summon "ward statesmen" from various quarters of our cities, to determine who shall be the nominees of the caucus, and whom the people shall go through the wholly mechanical farce of "electing" at the polls. It exists, too, back of all this in a most flagrant and demoralizing form, wherever the "bosses" of opposing national parties play into each others hands, and not only subordinate and degrade local politics to party interest, but work in the interest of individuals and corporations hostile to the public welfare, and make a mockery of popular government under our very eyes for the sake of the gold with which their palms are crossed.

Of course, I am not to be understood as applying all that

is indicated in these general statements to any special American city; but much, and in some cases all, of it is substantially true of many American cities, and they all stand far below the model cities of the world in respect of wise, businesslike management and economy, with far greater expenditures and far less proportionate returns in obvious and substantial good.

I take it, however, that we are agreed on all these points from the fact that this Convention has been called. We have come from different large cities which vary in the degree in which their affairs are mismanaged, but all of which require thorough reformation in one way or another. The question is how reform can best be brought about, and in that connection it is well to bear in mind the following important and fundamental fact. No American city is strictly, or in any important sense, a political organization like a nation or state; on the contrary, a city is to all intents and purposes a private corporation operated under a definite charter like any other corporation, for the sole benefit of what may be called the shareholders: the people who pay the taxes and are thereby entitled to the efficient and exclusive services of its officials, just as an insurance company or a bank looks for an equivalent for the salaries it pays its president and subordinate officers. All American cities are substantially private corporations, with no natural and original connection with parties and politics, and yet we are confronted with the fact that national party has, everywhere in the United States, thrust itself between the people and their civic institutions and interests.

The officials of our cities are not elected, nor their affairs managed for the benefit of the members of the corporation, but to reward men for, and to encourage them in, holding or gaining the local vote to swell the majority of one or the other of the great national parties, which have no more interest in or concern with the good government of a city than a mob has with the good management of a bank which it loots and plunders for purposes of its own.

One of the members of the Philadelphia Bar has signifi-

cantly pointed to the limit of party obligation, to which Americans yield a fealty as blind as that of a subject of the Shah of Persia; and one of the first steps towards accomplishing municipal reform is to educate the people by discussion and printed circulars to a point where they will realize the folly of electing a man of indifferent business capacity and character as alderman or mayor, because he is identified with certain political principles which he will represent when he becomes governor or congressman; or electing a city treasurer without regard to his fitness for the office, because he is a Democrat or Republican, as the case may be.

The truth is that party obligation ceases at the threshold of city government. The business of party is only with questions of political principle and policy, like the tariff. In national issues men may sometimes properly vote for those whose characters they do not wholly approve, because they represent certain principles and views, the furtherance of which is supposed to be vital to the country's welfare. But when such a course is adopted with regard to municipal elections, it becomes not only vicious but absurd; because the business of cities consists in the lighting and cleaning of streets, and the letting of contracts and similar matters, in which no political principle can possibly be involved, but only honesty, business sagacity and judgment. The matter of political views does not arise at all, and the question of fitness, energy and character is paramount and exclusive.

It is, I should say, perfectly obvious that municipal reform can never be thorough and complete until city government is absolutely divorced from party, and it is quite as obvious that this cannot be wholly accomplished at the outset. There is, however, a great deal to hope from united action in that direction, in determining and quickening public opinion, and in my humble belief one of the first conditions of real and permanent success in municipal reform is the scrupulous avoidance of temptation to anything like political methods in the Leagues of the various cities.

There is a certain attraction in the stir and rivalry of a political campaign. The people think they are governing

when they carry torches. There is a charm for most men in the struggle for success, even in a municipal election. It is full of what journalists call a "personal interest." I have often heard sincere believers in municipal reform declare that it can only be accomplished by enlisting the people in behalf of some popular independent condidate. "The people will not come out for a principle but they will for a man." That is the view of many men who have seen the people stand for nothing but political principles where they do not apply at all, and that in the lead of the poorest apologies for men in our municipal elections. It is possibly true that average character and intelligence are so low in some cities that there is nothing but personal leadership and some temporary and attractive *coup* that will further the cause of reform, but, as a rule, I think the leagues of the country should take higher ground, in deference to the superior popular intelligence and character in which our institutions have found their sole, and hitherto perfect anchorage. We have a great deal of spasmodic, occasional reform in America. Perhaps a tendency to put faith in such emotional movements of the popular conscience is one of our greatest errors. We make a great stir, and think the world is regenerated from top to bottom; only to discover, presently, that our independent candidate is independent of everything but the temptations of political preferment. He has been the hero of one campaign, and wants more on a higher political level. What we really need is something more enduring and far-reaching. Mere personal interest and success, even in reform, is short lived, and has serious inherent dangers. The greatest personal success in history was that of Napoleon, and that ended in absolute ultimate failure because there was no idea behind it to give it permanent vitality. The only movements which touch the people permanently and profoundly are those which command unqualified respect, and present ideas and principles dear to men's sympathies and conscience.

In the civil war it was not nearly so much the mere personality of Lincoln that insured success, as the fact that his personality embodied and represented the idea of union

and the sentiment of freedom; and it will be the same in a different degree with the cause of municipal reform. It will not be the temporary and glittering success of electing an independent candidate that will give the cause permanent impetus, but the fact that groups of disinterested men have established themselves on a basis above the sensational tumult of a mere campaign organization, for the sake of emancipating American cities from thralldom to unscrupulous demagogues, who trifle with the people's interests, and enrich themselves at the cost of thousands of poor tax-payers, all of whose taxable property is "in sight," and whose hard-earned dollars support a system which would be ludicrous were it not criminal and vicious. There may be a difference of views on this subject, but in my humble opinion the moment a municipal League enters the field as a political electioneering organization and succeeds, the presumption is that it is no longer disinterested. It stands on a level with the parties it wishes to combat. Its moral hold on the portion of the community most certain to insure real and permanent success is gone. It has succumbed to and adopted the very system which it aims to oppose and vanquish. It is no longer the absolute moral master of the situation, and, though the exponent of an idea, its escutcheon is in danger. It cannot indeed be sure of the sincerity of its own members, because the moment it becomes the stepping-stone to office, that moment it becomes attractive to men who are at heart mere office-seekers, and indifferent aids in the work of real reform.

In common with other delegates I am here primarily to learn all that is possible from the practical experience of others; but in concluding this plea for high and unqualified ground as a guarantee of success in the long run, I may, perhaps, be permitted to refer in outline to a plan of work which gives great promise, and, in spite of discouraging conditions, has had some slight practical success in Milwaukee, the city which I have the honor to represent. Its leading features are the fact that it puts no candidate in the field, but seeks, as a matter of temporary relief, to force the parties to bid up to its standards in the capacity, integrity, and

non-political character of their candidates, and by virtue of a large membership of pledged men whose vote commands respect. The League is still in its infancy, but at the very outset, when its membership was popularly supposed to be among the thousands, the politicians came to learn its preference, and even when it became known that it numbered only six hundred men, one of the parties nominated a business man for the mayoralty, a vice-president of the League, who was nominated and accepted in speeches unqualifiedly endorsing the principles of municipal reform.

In addition to the idea of acquiring the balance of power, and at once forcing whatever improvements are possible under party régime in electing city officials, the League has a Committee on Special Inquiry, whose business it is to critically investigate the antecedents of candidates and officials, not necessarily for publicity, but to bring the terrible power of the unknown to bear as a moral check upon those who know their own defects and believe them known to others; to investigate city contracts and familiarize itself with the methods of electing aldermen, the workings of the Common Council, and the Board of Supervisors. Meantime, through other committees, it aims to push the legislation necessary to change the caucus law, to extend the civil service rules to all the city departments, and ultimately to make such changes in the charter as shall combine the city and county government, favor long-term service, and otherwise work toward the elimination of national parties and the establishment of local parties solely devoted to and divided upon local interests and issues. It strikes me that the plan is not without merit as a means of practical work. It is certainly gradually gaining favor among thinking people in Milwaukee, and I offer it, though still in the experimental stage, for what it may be worth. Our idea is to avoid spasmodic, sensational, occasional reform, in detail; to put a temporary straight-jacket on the men who are in the saddle, and apply such constitutional remedies to the root and source from which the evil of bad government arise, as shall purify, renovate and strengthen the municipal body from the bottom up.

At the risk, Mr. Chairman, of covering a good deal of ground, where there are so many brilliant and able speakers whose views we are all impatient to hear, I wish to refer to one or two further matters of policy, directly or indirectly connected with our field of work, and I refer to them largely to call forth the views of those who have perhaps had greater experience in practical reform than I can possibly have had. I refer in the first place to municipal control of what some socialist leaders are fond of calling "public utilities," a question which may require different treatment in different cities, but which is likely to arise and prove a stumbling-block in many cases, because it offers opportunity for honest and vigorous difference of opinion, both on its merits and its timeliness and untimeliness in the order of changes which it is desirable to bring about in American cities. Of course, it is a familiar fact that socialists are in favor of the state control of railways, telegraph lines, and the like, throughout the country at large, and there are many thoughtful men who see in their idea of the complete subordination of the individual to an organization the unconscious gathering of the reins for the hand of some dominant spirit to establish a despotism upon the ruins of rational and well-adjusted personal liberty. It looks, in fact, very much as if the socialists were about to slip their heads into the noose in order to escape the gallows.

There is, however, a distinction to be drawn between state control and municipal control. The one is national and political and touches the whole fabric of government. The other is local and private, and, if desirable, I can see no reason why a municipal corporation should not manufacture its own gas, and manage its street railways, as similar matters are managed by other private corporations. There is, however, this fact to be taken into consideration in pushing questions of this kind, namely: that no good can come from a cynical disposition to ruthlessly assault vested rights before their expiration. Such rights were, perhaps, originally given to induce the establishment of the industries involved; they have grown in many cases to great proportions, and their

shares and bonds have been bought by innocent holders in all parts of the country and the world, on the strength of the city's good faith. I have in mind an instance where a corporation thus established changed hands by sale, with the appearance, as many thought, of serious fraud, and yet, even under such circumstances, a vigorous assault on the corporation as such failed to find support among the masses of the people, for reasons based in the fair and law-abiding spirit of the typical American citizen. Undoubtedly the management of street railways and gas companies should, sooner or later, come into the control of cities, where it proves desirable, as it appears to have been here in Philadelphia, or preferably, perhaps, such industries should pay a considerable tribute to the city treasuries, to diminish the extensive burdens of taxation; but, however that may be, the municipal ownership of "public utilities" would appear to be, in ordinary cases, one of the very worst and most untimely measures to be considered primarily in the order of desirable municipal reforms, because under party government it would seriously increase patronage and corruption and more than double burdens already too heavy for the people's shoulders. The time to consider such questions would seem to be only when perfectly honest, well-guarded and non-political city government has been established, which can be intrusted with such responsibilities without danger to the interests of the public at large.

In conclusion I have to refer to a matter only indirectly, but nevertheless importantly, connected with our field of influence. There is no doubt that the active work of any and all leagues will have to be done by a small circle of men, and I have already referred to the necessity of having back of them a large numerical body of pledged followers, but this intimate and sympathetic connection has a deeper and more important significance, in counteracting forces of disintegration deliberately set at work by reckless political innovators, who hope to find in some unknown and some untried institutions, a remedy for ills which arise solely from abuse of the institutions we now possess. It lies largely

within the power of the leagues of the country to protect and reinforce the true bond of popular fellowship and sympathy, by uniting as many as possible of all political faiths in the work ; all reputable men who will subscribe to a satisfactory pledge. There is, of course, no immediate danger to American institutions, but there is grave danger to mutual faith and the relations of the people to each other, which is the precursor of serious future trouble. Arrogant wealth no doubt deserves rebuke, but there is a great deal of mischievous nonsense talked among Socialist agitators and Western Populists, about the impending evils of a permanent monied aristocracy and growing conditions of inequality in this country. It is serious because it appeals successfully to the lowest motives of the ignorant as well as the vicious. But every thinking man knows that government can only reconcile natural inequalities, at the most, and make men equal before the law ; and as for a permanent moneyed aristocracy, that is provided against in a land free from primogeniture, by the very laws of human nature itself. Wealth continually and inevitably distributes and redistributes itself ; and it is safe to say that the sons of the poor and the descendants of present men of wealth, who were mostly born poor, will, in the main, change places within the space of fifty years.

Underneath all this petty jogging, however, there is a reasonable cause for discontent. It is corruption in every department of national and municipal government, and municipal reform has a direct bearing on the matter, in so far as it tends to unite the elements of the population, which are beginning to "take sides" in common fellowship, with the common object of getting good government, government of which no one can complain with justice, and which therefore would not be in danger of assault from any honorable and intelligent body of men ; and it is not too much to say that such a project, honestly, actively and universally carried out, would disarm every honest socialist in the country, by removing the real cause of the just resentment, and demonstrating the power and efficacy of our institutions. Socialism, gentlemen, exists in cities because government is bad.

It is a great satisfaction and reassurance to feel that we are all interested in and substantially agreed, both on the real necessity for municipal reform and the general policy which is most likely to insure its furtherance.

It would seem that the importance of this Convention could not be overestimated. It is held in a city where a good deal has been accomplished in the direction of real reform. It has the force and dignity of a great national movement, and with the distinguished names back of it, among statesmen, professional men and scholars, it will not only stand in high credit, but will also produce a tide of popular interest and conviction that will float many a struggling and isolated League to a point where it can turn its guns on municipal evils with irresistible energy and effect. After this convention, it will be felt everywhere that municipal reform is an assured and well accredited national movement, and men of first rate ability and character will everywhere find it an honor to be associated with a cause which certainly stands in the fore-front of American political regeneration and progress.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN CHICAGO.

BY WILLIAM A. GILES.

The question has been asked me many times as to the social conditions in Chicago, more especially as to the dissatisfaction and suffering among the poor. Notwithstanding the prediction of all sorts of evil things for the city to follow the close of the World's Fair, and the somewhat exaggerated newspaper reports abroad, I do not believe the situation there is worse than in most of the other large cities, and I think that it is better than in many of them.

Great numbers were drawn from every village in the Northwest to Chicago during the enormous preparations for the World's Fair, the very extensive building, street extensions, extra business preparations, etc. Many of them are stranded; but the number of the unemployed, and the amount of actual suffering has been greatly exaggerated. Wonders are being done in the way of relief and amelioration. Through the organized charities, like the Chicago Relief and the Central Relief Associations, and a few other similar organizations, not less than three-quarters of a million dollars will have been distributed this season. Probably half as much more aid will be extended through churches, private philanthropy and secret societies. Not less than twenty thousand women of the wealthier and middle classes are, with a noble generosity, devoting the greater part of their time to seeking out the needy throughout the city and furnishing them assistance.

It seems to me that this great outpouring of sympathy and aid will go a long way toward stemming the tide of discontent and allaying the class-feeling and hatred that we have heard so much about lately. Notwithstanding the gloomy outlook, we have no fear that that spirit which built

the grand city on the sand dunes of the Chicago river, which rebuilt it after the fire of 1871, that spirit which hanged the Anarchists, which conceived and carried to triumphant success the World's Fair, will enable her to surmount the difficulties of the situation; and when she gains a little breathing spell after the struggle for material success, she will attend to the municipal and social difficulties.

In municipal politics we are confronted with much the same questions that beset the other large cities in the country. The great problems of Chicago have been complicated by its phenomenal growth. Neither its sewers, water supply, streets nor public buildings were laid out on a scale to meet the vast increasing demands of this expanding city. We have had to do in a few years, in a new situation, with new materials, with inexperienced men, what other cities have taken many scores of years to do. It is true, Berlin of late has grown nearly as rapidly as Chicago; but it has been backed up by a gigantic empire, and been able to draw upon the most experienced and learned men of Europe. Our social conditions have been peculiar, and our problems complicated also by the fresh arrival of from seventy-five to one hundred thousand people a year from all quarters of the globe—from the bogs of Ireland, from the mines of Poland and Bohemia, from the brigand-caves of Italy and from the slave camps of the South, but one remove from the jungles of Africa. Demagogues have not been slow in using this ready and pliable material. It has been difficult to inoculate all of these elements with the civic pride and patriotism characteristic of our city.

There has been a lamentable indifference and neglect of public and political duties on the part of Chicago's business men. It is notorious that we do not find in our City Councils our ablest and best equipped citizens; and it is true, even if they could be elected, that, in the present condition of public affairs and public opinion, we could not often find our best men willing to serve. The average citizen has everything to discourage him from participating in politics,—the condition of public sentiment, the political and machine

methods, the abuse that a decent man is subjected to by opposing politicians and a partisan press.

Outraged public sentiment is occasionally aroused, and the so-called better classes are sometimes awakened from their indolence and indifference to do a little work. They put up an independent ticket of good citizens. If elected, it is without any organized support, and usually fails to accomplish much good. They do a good deal of grumbling about the wickedness of politicians and the machine, and there the matter usually ends. They make no intelligent effort at a strong working organization, so the ten per cent. who do the work, generally for what there is in it, continue to have their own way, and the ninety per cent. go about their own selfish affairs. There is but little hope for the separation of municipal from state and national politics, which would seem to be the only remedy, or at least a long stride toward reform.

It is hard to convince the ordinary politician that the sanitation of cities and towns, the providing of healthy and comfortable homes for workingmen, the lightening of the burden of taxation, are of more importance than local politics, especially when the boss has a national or state election to carry. Our large cities furnish good material for party schemes, and with the influence of the politicians against reform in this line, we have little hope for this reform. More promise is found in the line of work marked out by this Conference, by appealing to, educating and elevating, the tone of public sentiment, and leading people to study the problems that pertain to our rapidly-congesting cities. This will render it impossible or more difficult to elect bad or inefficient men to office.

Much might be done through our public schools, academies, and universities. I have half a dozen text books, such as are used in the public schools of France. Among them are "Lessons for Primary Schools, Morality and Patriotism," "Lessons in Civil Government, Adapted to the Primary Schools of France," "Moral and Civic Instruction for the Grammar Schools," "Instruction in Moral Duties and Obligations: Ideas pertaining to Civil Government," "Instruction

in Civil Government for Normal Schools," "The Constitution and Laws of France," "The Administration of Law in France; Political Economy and History." These books are, as you see, well illustrated and contain stories calculated to interest the children and inspire a love and enthusiasm for their country. There the children commence the study of civil government upon their entrance into school. They are made to understand their duties as citizens, the necessity of government and its obligations, their history, etc. These branches are followed up in the higher schools, and, of course, as is well known, the great universities in Paris, Berlin, and London are far in advance of ours in the study of social and political economy, finance, the science of government, and other related branches, specially qualifying men for the service in responsible administrative positions. In this line of instruction the condition of things in France has been revolutionized in the last twenty years, or since the days of the Anarchists and the Commune.

We should begin at the beginning and lay a sure foundation. We have come to feel that every ignorant vote cast is a menace to our institutions, and every corrupt vote a blow at constitutional government.

SPEECHES

DELIVERED AT THE DINNER HELD AT HOTEL METRO-
POLE, PHILADELPHIA, JANUARY 25, 1894.

MR. FRANCIS B. REEVES, Chairman:—

"Gentlemen, agreeable as it would be to prolong the delights of this hour of mutual intercourse and sociability, we shall find no less enjoyment, I am sure, in listening to the eloquence of a few who, out of the abundance of their hearts, will address us upon the great problem for the solution of which this Conference for Good City Government has been called.

"It is my first and most pleasing duty, on behalf of the Philadelphia Committee, to extend most cordial welcome to our distinguished guests, who have come to us from other cities.

"By your coming you have honored Philadelphia. At all times our citizens would offer you their best word of welcome, but when you come to us upon such a mission as has brought you here on this occasion, we bid you thrice welcome and extend to you the hand of brotherly love.

"If, during your stay among us, we shall be able to give you any practical demonstration of what really good municipal government is, we shall be very glad. No one would be happier to show you all our good points than his honor, Mayor Stuart, and in this good work he would be most cheerfully aided by the members of his Cabinet, who I understand, are with us to-night.

"It is quite true that these gentlemen would not be able to show you all the secret springs, the wheels within wheels, that go to make up the complex machinery of our city government, but they would do their very best, and would show you some very excellent things, and as for the rest, I have no doubt that his honor would be quite willing to give you the

names and addresses of some gentlemen who, if they would, could explain everything. (Applause). They would be able, perhaps, to show you some of the secret springs, some of the interior workmanship hidden from mortal eyes which, like the Keeley Motor, we have often heard of, but never have seen. (Laughter).

"It is a trite saying, so much so as to be scarcely worth repeating, that the people can have good government if they choose; that if it is bad the blame rests only upon themselves. We have heard it often; we know it to be true, and for that reason we like to hear it again. His honor, the Mayor of Philadelphia, is firmly convinced of this fact, as he has good reason to be. This Conference is in itself an evidence of the truth of it. And when the old question comes up to us, as it often does, 'what are you going to do about it,' we answer by showing them this Conference. Movements like these are themselves answers to that question.

"Before introducing the speakers of the evening, I beg to read to you a letter received from the Hon. Robert E. Pattison, Governor of Pennsylvania." (Applause).

To the Committee:

I greatly regret that an official engagement will prevent an acceptance of your very kind invitation to meet with the Conference for Good City Government. Your Conference is timely; no corporations in the world are, as a rule, so helpless as the municipal corporations of America. I would be delighted to be present to hear those who are competent to speak on the question.

With best wishes for the outcome of the Convention,

I am, yours very respectfully,

ROBERT E. PATTISON.

I now take great pleasure in introducing to you Hon. Edwin S. Stuart, our honored Mayor. (Applause).

HON. EDWIN S. STUART:—

"Mr. Chairman, members and guests of the Conference, I do not know how the other gentlemen who were to speak were notified as to what they were to do; the first intimation I had was when I sat down and I think reached the soup,

your worthy Chairman then said to me, 'We want you to say something to-night.' I said, 'This is the first I heard of it; I have come to learn something and not to talk.' After awhile another gentleman came around and told me he was to have informed me but forgot it. (Laughter).

"I feel, however, that I would be derelict in the duty I owe as a citizen as well as the chief executive of the city if I were not present to-night to extend to these gentlemen, particularly those who have come from afar, a most cordial welcome to the City of Brotherly Love. (Applause). We are always glad to welcome any visitors to Philadelphia, and more especially those who come representing such a movement as you represent to-day. We must all admit that good city government is one of the most important things both to the patriot and tax-payer.

"A municipality is merely a corporation with the people as its stockholders and the executive, whoever he may be, for the time being elected or selected to carry on the business of that corporation. (Applause).

"If in a Conference such as this, anything can be said or done to bring about practical results that will tend to the improvement of a municipality, it will be a credit not only to those participating therein, but also to the cause of good city government.

"We may talk, write essays and read addresses, but the one practical thing and the one which must be done is to impress upon every citizen the importance of exercising his right of franchise and voting at all municipal elections, instead of remaining at home and taking no part either by his voice or his vote. After all, the representatives of the people are just exactly what the people select, and a citizen who thinks it too much trouble to vote should not find fault if the ones selected are not as he would have them.

"I am very glad to be here to-night, and on behalf of the city of Philadelphia I again extend to every gentleman present a most sincere and heartfelt welcome, feeling that if anything is said or done that will tend to simplify and master the question which we have studied so long, and which is so dear

to every man who loves his city, state and country, we will feel grateful that the Conference has been held." (Applause).

Mr. Reeves introduced Honorable Charles A. Schieren, Mayor of Brooklyn, who took for his topic the motto of Brooklyn, "Union makes Might."

. HON. CHARLES A. SCHIEREN :—

"Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, and citizens of Philadelphia, although I represent a neighboring city, I am also of your city, and one of the merchants of your city. I have the honor to be the head of a business firm which has a branch in this city, and has had for fourteen years; so you see I can claim Philadelphia. Aside from that, I am a merchant of New York; but, above all, I am a citizen of Brooklyn, the city which I first entered as a poor emigrant boy, and to-day have the honor to be the Chief Executive officer of the same. (Applause).

"But, gentlemen, nothing succeeds like success. Not long ago, a friend saluted me and said : 'Why, Schieren, I have not seen you since you came to be somebody.' (Laughter). There was a great deal of truth in what he said. (Laughter). I must repeat, nothing succeeds like success. Wherever I go to-day and wherever I appear, it is applause and applaud, and everybody seems to make a great time over me, and I sometimes wonder whether it has made any difference with me.

"During my canvass (I cannot refrain from giving you a little instance of my canvass) I made it a point to call at every factory and get acquainted with the men, shake them by the hand and urge them to vote for Schieren. (Laughter). There was nothing strange in that. (Laughter). The boys knew what I was after. (Laughter). I called one day at a hat factory; a young man took my hat and said : 'What size of hat do you wear?' I said 7 $\frac{3}{8}$. I was conducted through the factory and interviewed all the men, which took me about an hour. Coming back to the office he presented me with a brand-new hat just made. I thanked him; but putting the hat on I found it too large. (Laughter and applause). The young man

apologized and said : ' I can remedy this inside of two minutes.' I said, ' Never mind young man, it will be all right in a few days.' (Applause). Strange to say, that hat is a perfect fit now. (Laughter).

" I came with a great deal of fear and trembling to this city, and thought I might need assistance, so I brought my Bismarck and my Napoleon. I have been very fortunate in this respect in my campaign ; I had a counsellor like Bismarck and a fighter like Napoleon. It needs brains to run things, and if you have not got them yourself, you must draw on some one else's supply.

" So it is with backbone. A great many people in Brooklyn give me credit for backbone, but these people don't know the secret of my backbone. Somebody stands back of me and if I weaken at all punches me ahead. The great Emperor of Germany was noted for one thing. He did not possess a great deal of knowledge, literary or otherwise himself, but he knew enough to surround himself with strong men. I therefore followed the example of my old Emperor and supplied myself with a Bismarck, and up to the present day have had no trouble between us. (Applause). Everything has gone along smoothly and I hope we will be as unanimous as the young Emperor and old Bismarck are now. Nothing gives me greater pleasure than to read in the papers that the grand old man and the grand young man are again united. (Applause).

" But I have come here this evening to speak on a different subject ; therefore, I have written a few lines which I hope you will pardon me if I read.

" 'Een Draght Mackt Maght.' (Union Makes Might). This is an old Dutch motto. It is inscribed upon our banners and engraved upon our corporate seal. It is an heirloom handed down to us from our Dutch ancestors who founded the little village of Breukelen, which has grown now to be the beautiful city of Brooklyn. These sturdy old settlers knew the value of united action, for they were constantly surrounded by the savage indians, and were ever ready for an attack. In these days no such danger confronts us, but the

same motto is needed against a modern foe of self-constituted political bosses, who bind themselves together to tyrannize the people and oppose good government. (Applause). Certainly the late election in Brooklyn was an evidence of what an outraged and long-suffering community can accomplish when they are thoroughly roused and make an earnest effort against corruption in high places. Only a few months ago the government of our city was in the hands of a gigantic ring, which seemed impregnable. In their self-conceit they thought themselves secure, and relied upon their splendidly-organized party machinery. They controlled all the public offices and had the influence of almost every officeholder. The principal departments were used for party ends, and heavy contributions were levied upon officeholders. The police force was compelled to lend its aid and was made subservient to their power; in fact, almost every department of our city was turned into an electioneering machine, and nothing short of miracle seemed to be able to overthrow their power. But, gentlemen, their time had come; a long-suffering and outraged people again looked to their motto: 'In union there is strength,' and they rose in their might like one man, and hurled them from power. Never was an election more decisive. A complete uprooting took place. It was a genuine uprising of the people, irrespective of power. The cry was for better government, and almost every city department came under our control. Our splendid city charter made it possible for an almost immediate change of government. In the Mayor is vested the power of appointing heads of departments responsible to him. It was, therefore, no easy task to select a cabinet composed of efficient, conscientious men.

"Now, gentlemen, it falls upon us the arduous duty of satisfying such a constituency composed of all classes and of all parties. We know that Brooklyn will be watched with much interest to see how this reform movement will succeed, and whether this new administration will be able to satisfy the people and receive the support of citizens who placed it in power.

"It is our aim to earnestly work in behalf of good government. We expect to place our Police and Fire Departments upon a non-partisan basis, introduce economic measures into every department, and put every one upon plain business principles, and conduct it as you would your large business firms or corporations. (Applause).

"Efficiency and good character will be the main requisites in obtaining employment in the city government; party politics will be recognized only in so far as the applicant is worthy for the place, and not because of a mere political pull. If such principles are strictly adhered to, I do not fear the result.

"Now, gentlemen, let me thank you for this cordial welcome. It will be a great impetus to me. I have been here with you this afternoon in your Convention and saw the earnestness of that Convention. I shall go home with more backbone." (Applause and cheers).

Mr. Reeves introduced James C. Carter, Esq., President of the Conference.

JAMES C. CARTER, ESQ. :—

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I came here to be a listener and supposed that no other office would devolve upon me, and I am little prepared to take the part of a speaker this evening.

"I must, however, say how deeply I have been impressed with the earnestness, with the sincerity, with the knowledge and the good judgment, the patriotic purpose which has apparently animated every one of you who has attended this Convention. I have seldom listened to the reading of any papers which displayed a better knowledge of the subject treated than those I have listened to to-day. I am rejoiced to learn that there has been aroused, and is now felt, in the great and good cause we are assembled to promote, so much energy and so much determination. I feel that a distinct impulse for good has been created, and will be communicated as a consequence of this Conference. I believe that those of

us who come from other places will carry back to our homes and communicate to those with whom we are in the habit of associating something of the good influences that we have received from this Conference.

"I have observed and did remark to-day, in listening to the papers which were read, that it was indeed a necessity of the occasion that the darker shades of our municipal life should be painted. One would suppose, indeed, that there was connected with our municipal governments in this country nothing but evil; that they were all sunk in sin and turpitude; that there was not a bright spot anywhere to be found in them. Perhaps that may be so, and yet perhaps it is not altogether so.

"There was an observation made in the course of more than one speaker's remarks, and the substance has been again expressed by his honor, Mayor Stuart, to-night, which is this: that we have in this country just as good municipal government as we deserve. (Applause). I do not know but that I should be disposed to go one step further and say that we have a great deal better municipal government than we deserve. (Applause). Nothing so impresses me as the elasticity and the vigor and force of American character and American institutions, and the circumstance that we can, notwithstanding what may be called the degrading character of our municipal government in many cases, go along, flourish and be happy, and be able to boast that we are the proudest and happiest nation on the face of the earth. (Applause). What is the reason of this? How is it that we get out of these poor materials with which we have to deal—how is it that we get out of our municipal officers elected, as we know they are elected—how is it that we get out of our municipal government officials, bad as we know them to be, in consequence of the machinations of little rings, circles and cliques of designing politicians—how is it that we get out of them anything in the nature of good government at all? How is it our streets are ever swept? How is it our schools perform their functions at all? How is it the police keep order in our streets, for we must admit our streets are generally the

abodes of peace and order? How is it we have such blessings as we do have?

"It seems to me this is only another illustration of the irresistible force of public sentiment and public opinion. Although we do not have such municipal officers as we wish; although they are elected often by the meanest of our population, although they are engaged often in the most questionable of practices, nevertheless they do feel, after all, the influence of public sentiment. In this particular they are not singular. The Sultan of Turkey rules over his dominion by the permission of his subjects, and he knows it. He knows he can carry his despotic practices only to a certain extent. He feels and fears public sentiment, and feels the force of public sentiment, such as it is in Turkey, so it is a hundred-fold greater in America. The cliques and rings and gangs of politicians that govern us are still themselves governed and controlled by the power which they know we possess to put them out if we choose at the next election. Therefore it is that they act at all times in more or less fear of those well disposed people whom they were elected to serve, and who, if they presume too far on their good nature, will rise in their might and majesty and put them out.

"The thought I have to suggest is that if, in the enterprise in which you are now engaged, you are not successful as you wish to be, if your immediate efforts should fail, if your organism should come to nothing, you still, after all, have the satisfaction that every effort you make, every blow you strike, every conference you call, every effort you make to create and arouse public sentiment in favor of good municipal government, has its full immediate and direct reward in the better municipal government which you will have even from the hands of your unworthy servants. (Applause).

"I thought I could notice this in a striking manner a few weeks ago in the State of New York. We had an election there; perhaps you do not remember it. (Laughter). It shook the State of New York from the lake shore to the sea. Every man trembled at the shock; every man feared the power that had been awakened, which, unless it was in some manner

appeased and satisfied, would descend upon him. In consequence a renewed devotion on the part of the servants of the public was noticed. The streets of New York were swept as with a new broom. Order reigned in many of the public offices. Officials that had been careless were devoted to their duties; sentiments were expressed from the high public officials from the Mayor down, all of a character admitting their responsibility to the great public whose servants they were. Now, therefore, I find in these things a reward for any efforts we may make, however they may fail of their desired effects, and when we see how much can be accomplished in a small way, we ought to be encouraged to make still greater efforts, because we see, if we choose to use the power so manifest, we might have things almost our own way.

"I have been asking gentlemen near whom I have sat, improving every opportunity I have had to ask the gentlemen of Philadelphia, members of this Municipal League, what their ultimate purpose was, what you expect to accomplish. They answer, we expect to direct public attention to this thing and that thing, or to the manner of elections, etc., and carry this measure. How do you expect to carry it? 'Well, we expect the Councilmen to do so.' What reason have you to expect the Councilmen to do so and so? 'We elect them.' Do you mean, then, to go into an election and form a party? 'Yes, we do.' I find that an idea is stored away somewhere in the mind of almost everybody that has anything to do with these movements for municipal reform, or a hope, an aspiration, a dream, that a power exists which may be awakened and which may wholly set aside all these political rings and cliques, all this gang of selfishness and greed which fatten upon the community as if it were their plunder and prey, that the people themselves may go into the political field with a party and ticket against which they challenge all comers.

"It may not be possible yet and it may be a long time before our objects can be finally accomplished and our aspirations can in any considerable degree be realized. In any event, methods must be adopted. I think we have had some

recent examples of the ability of the people. One of the new illustrations of it is furnished in the character of one of the gentlemen who has addressed you. His honor, Mayor Schieren, of Brooklyn, is an illustration of the power which the people have if they choose to exert it, to elect a man of their own choice. I do not mean that he was elected without regard to his political affiliations; he was nominated as a candidate of a political party, but if there had been nothing more than that, he would not have come within ten thousand votes of it. The people of Brooklyn, in the face of the difficulties by which they were surrounded, in the face of the disgrace and shame heaped upon them by their own officials, were ready to lay aside all party allegiance and stand forth in their character as simple citizens to elect a man of that class. (Applause).

"I venture to say, and I feel that I may take the liberty on this occasion to remind him, that he occupies a place and position of a most interesting character, interesting to all of us as citizens, interesting, and let me say, perilous to him. If he shall carry through to the end of his administration the purposes and the resolutions which now animate his breast all will be well. He will carry out of office a reputation much larger than the very great one he brings to us. (Applause). If, on the contrary, let me say, in the face of the difficulties and the temptations which will meet him before he gets along very far in the course of his official career, he yields to the adverse influence, he will not be the first to yield to such an instrumentality. I have seen many examples of excellent men chosen to high office in municipalities where the influence of political parties was very strong, and where the pressure has been at times very great, and rarely, almost never, have I seen a man who was absolutely proof against them. The reason has been because they have not had about them the unanimous voice of the people of the city. These men have been elected generally, almost wholly, by the efforts of one political party, and it is not in human nature, it is not possible, for men formed as they are to feel otherwise than under a certain sense of obligation

to those influences by which they have been elected; consequently, under such circumstances, they have almost always surrendered to a greater or less degree. It is only when they feel they have been elevated to the high office by the general body of their citizens standing for them in their simple character of citizens, that they have felt a strength equal to all trials. These influences our friend has behind him, and I feel quite sure that he will, supported by them, meet every trial which shall hereafter come to him. If he does so, it is in his power, as it has never been in the power of any man within my recollection, to exhibit to the people of Brooklyn and New York, and the inhabitants of all the cities of the country, a spectacle and example of good municipal government that will be of more benefit than all our organizations and conferences." (Applause).

Mr. Reeves introduced Mr. Richard Watson Gilder, editor of the *Century Magazine*.

MR. RICHARD WATSON GILDER, who was next introduced, was warmly greeted. He dwelt upon the evil effects of the spoils system in municipal, state and national governments, and described civil service reform as more nearly a panacea for the ills of government than any other single device. What we demand is common sense in public affairs. Those who oppose us, and not we, are the foolish and unpractical. That our cities should be misgoverned as they are is a reproach to republican institutions. England has destroyed the spoils system and bribery at elections. Cannot America do as well?

Continuing, Mr. Gilder said: "I cannot come to Philadelphia as a visitor, although not as a stranger, without a word of sympathy and affection for my lifelong friend, Mr. George W. Childs, who would have been here to-night were it not for serious illness; and I would suggest that some message be sent him. Surely he is one of the truest citizens and one of the largest-hearted men that this country possesses."

Mr. Gilder then presented this resolution, which was adopted with much evidence of feeling :—

“Resolved, That we express our sincere regret at the absence from our meetings of that good man and good citizen, George W. Childs, one of the callers of this Convention, and that we extend to him our affectionate greeting and our earnest hope that he will soon recover his wonted health and be able to take up again his active and distinguished services to the community.”

Mr. Reeves introduced Hon. George S. Graham, District Attorney of Philadelphia.

HON. GEORGE S. GRAHAM :—

“Mr. Chairman and Friends, I follow with some diffidence the speakers who have preceded me to-night. I listened with pleasure to the remarks of the distinguished Mayors at this board. I followed with almost breathless interest the remarkably able and strong address of Mr. Carter. I heard with profit the interesting words of Mr. Gilder, and now I feel like one who enters a field after the reapers have been there—I can only do a little gleaning. I am glad to be here to-night as a Philadelphian, and participate in the welcome that is extended to the strangers that are in our midst. I am glad also to be here to-night to express my personal sympathy with the reforms you have under consideration and which you propose to help onwards. (Applause). I am glad to be here to-night to receive personally some encouragement and help from these stirring speeches and these new pointings of old morals.

“I recognize the fact that, as stated by one of the speakers, that it is but the exercise of common sense when an honest, capable business man is placed at the head of municipal affairs in the great city of Brooklyn. Yet, my friends, it seems to me that common sense is a misnomer. This kind of sound sense is not common. It is the uncommon sense of the people of Brooklyn and their good and wise judgment that has secured for them this honorable selection—a selec-

tion which I am sure will give to their city great advantage and profit. (Applause).

"I see in this gathering, in the Conference that has been held to-day, an indication of patriotism. I wish to emphasize the spirit of patriotism pervading every such movement. The man who 'amid the pomp and circumstance of war' does some daring deed in defence of his country, which calls forth the encomiums of the people, has exhibited in its most striking form, and perhaps at its loftiest height the patriotism that makes and preserves a nation. An old father sitting between two cots in one of the war hospitals of this country, when asked whether or not he regretted having given the two noble sons who lay wounded upon these extemporized beds, to the service of his country, said, with brimming eyes, 'No! though my heart is breaking to-day because of their suffering and imminent peril of death, yet if I had a dozen sons I would willingly lay them all upon the altar of my beloved country.' (Applause). It is true that acts of heroism like these find their stimulus in the immediate praise with which they are acclaimed, and the glory with which they at once enrobe the hero. Peace hath her victories, won by acts of self-sacrifice and devotion, and requiring great endurance and courage, which should be no less renowned than those of war. There are struggles in the civic life of the nation which calls forth a patriotism that is as pure, as noble, and intrinsically as great as that with which covers the hero with glory upon the fields of war. There are movements in times of peace, struggles that call forth and develop commanding powers and ennobling virtues of which the nation should be justly proud. Patrick Henry standing in the Congress of 1774 and saying to his fellow members, 'In a time like this, there are no Pennsylvanians, there are no New Yorkers, there are no New Englanders, I am no longer a Virginian, I am an American,' was pronouncing a great principle, and in doing so, and by the magic spell of his splendid eloquence arousing his countrymen, was as heroic, and in daring the perils of his bold position was as self-sacrificing as if he had led a charge in the midst of battle. When we recall the history of neighboring

cities, and our own as well, we can find victories achieved in which public-spirited men were patriotic heroes no less than than those who serve in war.

"I consider the struggle recently closed in the State of New York, referred to by Mr. Carter, in which a man who by his previous conduct had shown that he was unfit to wear the ermine, was overwhelmingly defeated by the expressed judgment of his fellow citizens, led by disinterested patriots who aroused public sentiment and called forth the great power of the people, was a victory quite as important in the interests of peace as the surrender of Appomattox. (Applause). I consider that when the people of a neighboring city obliterated party lines and united with the single purpose of elevating to the Mayor's chair a pure and patriotic citizen, they achieved a splendid victory, and our good friends to whom the Mayor has playfully referred as his Bismarck and Napoleon who stood by him in the struggle, deserve to be crowned as patriotic victors. (Applause). I am sure I can say of this, my own city—and I am proud of the fact that I am a citizen of no mean city—that while we may, upon occasions, criticise our officials, and look for specks of dirt upon the street, or perhaps in the Schuylkill water, yet through the patriotic zeal and devotion of some of her citizens, we are able to say to-night that Philadelphia is one of the best-governed cities in these United States. (Applause).

"I am sure you will agree with me that in the very near past, when an organization of citizens, turning aside from their business, gave much of their time to the public service, in a most faithful and unselfish way—a body of men known to us, and who will be known in history as the famous Citizens' Committee of One Hundred,—they were discharging a purely patriotic duty. (Applause). Following them the Committee of Fifty, the Municipal Association, and your Municipal League, are engaged in the discharge of civic duties that are just as great, just as important as anything that can ever be demanded from the people in time of war. I want to emphasize the thought of the patriotism that there is in a movement like this.

"What grander thing can there be for the consideration of the citizen than those engaging your attention. We are told that the proper study of mankind is man—the proper study of the citizen is municipal government. What shall be its final evolution? How can we obtain and thereafter firmly maintain a good and pure government of the people, by the people, and for the people? In these days, when we look abroad and see that the trend is from the country to the town, that hundreds of thousands of citizens everywhere are seeking these great centres, then we must realize, as we never did before, the importance of the question of good government in these centres of dense population.

"There are evils at work to deter and destroy, and there must be created as an offset to them, influences for good that shall elevate and uplift. In an organization like this, in a Conference like that which you are holding, I behold the employment of the most potent of all agencies that can be used, that which is the strength of every great movement—agitation. Wendell Phillips has said, "Agitation is a lever that can move the world;" and the agitation of these great questions is bound to centre upon them the best thought of the leading, the prudent and the upright citizen. By just such assemblies as these can that public sentiment which our friend so eloquently described be created, and the common sense of the people be called into action. A lofty public sentiment, a noble public spirit, will not spring from the ground of human society. It comes not spontaneously. Men are so engrossed in their own affairs. The dominant element in our natures is selfishness. We are devoted to our business and to our own personal affairs, and we have not time to think of politics; and therefore it is that agitation and timely suggestion are necessary. The note of peril must be sounded by those who are devoted and patriotic. The patriot watchman on society's walls must sound the summons to conflict. Thus alone can an influence be created that will hold in check the men who for the sake of public plunder pose conspicuously as the public servants of the people.

"I endorse the sentiment that a city is but a corporation,

and it ought to be conducted upon the principles of a business corporation. It should be managed upon business principles. The chief executive should be as the chief officer of a business corporation. Its taxes, the product of the people, ought to be spent for the people's benefit alone. They want fine streets, they want good water, they want the best protections and safeguards thrown around their health and homes, they want every convenience and comfort that can be bought with money, as well as every improvement designed to aggrandize the city and promote the welfare and happiness of the citizens. To that end let me suggest it is necessary that the citizen shall do his duty. Every one who is interested at all in public affairs recognizes this fact, that wherever there is apathy and indifference on the part of the people, then it is that municipal affairs go wrong and vice and corruption rule the metropolis; but when there is an enlightened public spirit, when there is vigilance exercised on the part of the people, then it is that everywhere, in every department of the government, you have the highest type of excellence in administration. The two great foes of good government are indifference and ignorance. It is hard to tell which of these is the greater.

"So far as the official is concerned, there are two great requisites which ought to go with him in the public service, and unless he possesses them he ought not to receive the suffrages of his fellow citizens; these qualifications are conscience and courage. Conscience enables a man to stand like the rock in the midst of the waters. The winds may blow and the waves may toss and dash against the rock, threatening its destruction, but it remains unmoved. The man of conscience will always remain firm in his place. A conscientious sense of duty will enable him to stand the storms of temptation and unjust criticism. Conscience will be to the official like the magic ring of the Arabian prince, which pricked his finger at the approach of evil. Every official should have courage—the courage of his convictions, the courage to carry out his purposes. He ought to possess persevering courage, so that to the very end he may struggle on to the accomplishment of

every one of his purposes. On the other hand, the citizen must have conscience. Conscience must go with him to the ballot box. The deposit of his vote must be an act of conscientious duty to the state. No man has a right to vote as a mere matter of partisan duty on any question, national or municipal. No man has a right to cast a vote except as a patriotic duty looking to the welfare, the safety, and security of his country. If conscience goes with the official, and conscience controls the man who deposits the ballot, you will find evolved by the natural process of social evolution, the finest and highest type of municipal government the world has ever seen. You may talk about forms of government, but I believe more in the spirit than the letter. 'For forms of government, let fools contest, what's best administered is best.' While I recognize that there are forms better than others, and that if you can get the best form, it is your duty to adopt it, yet above and beyond all these stands the wise selection of honest officials and the conscientious discharge of duty by the voter. If these two things be observed, you need not concern yourselves about the future of the city. The influences that tend to evil will be trampled under foot. The influences that tend to promote righteousness and peace will be lifted up to the glory and honor and praise of the state. When there is such a spirit as this abroad, you will find the highest development of your municipal progress and success.

"Let me suggest, in closing, that the purity of the ballot must be guarded as a sacred trust. (Applause). The value of forms of government, the nomination of men, and conscience on the part of the voter are all lost unless the ballot is preserved free from polluting touch. I know that the feeling exists in many breasts—it has no place in this assemblage—but I know the feeling exists elsewhere, among men that are held to be reputable and respectable citizens in the community, that the man who tampers with the ballot-box is only a man who manifests over-zeal for his party, and is to be excused. Agitation must educate our people to a true appreciation of the priceless heritage of a free ballot. As

sacredly as the Children of Israel guarded the Ark which contained the Covenant, so should the American citizen guard the ballot-box into which the white messenger of his will is placed. The elective franchise is the gift of God to a free people. (Applause). Preserve the purity of the ballot. The history of the elective franchise can be traced in blood, for it is blood-bought. Let it be preserved, even though it be at the cost of blood and human life. Let no citizen, because of his respectability and because of his desire to avoid the unpleasant or unclean things of life, stand back and keep apart from political life. Political life ought to be free and clean and pure. Let him take his respectability with him and aid in accomplishing this result. Armed with courage, awake to conscience, desiring alone the triumph of the right, let every patriot stand for the ballot, maintain its freedom, preserve its purity and make it the very base and corner stone on which the superstructure of a perfect municipal system shall be upbuilt, and the perpetuity of our free institutions securely rest." (Applause).

Mr. Reeves: "I have now the pleasure of introducing to you Horace E. Deming, Esq., of New York."

HORACE E. DEMING, ESQ.:—

"Mr. President and Gentlemen, like one of the gentlemen who preceded me, I received my notice that I was to speak along with my soup. I cannot say that I have fully enjoyed my dinner. No subject has been given me, and the thoughts that have been floating through my brain, during the dinner, regarding the great subject of Municipal Government, have been so numerous, that I find it difficult to decide where to begin. As I stand here, the contrast between European experiences and our own comes into my mind. The problem of Municipal Government came upon Europe and upon the United States at about the same time. There has practically been no municipal problem in any country until within the last thirty-five or forty years. Within that period have grown up not only most of the large cities, but

there have grown up innumerable smaller cities. The city problem is but one of the many results of the discovery of steam and electricity. In Europe, however, whether we turn to Scotland or England, France, Belgium, Prussia, Germany, Austria or Italy, on the whole they have solved the problem of Municipal Government better than we. Is there not a lesson in this for us?

"There are three marked features which characterize every municipal government of Europe, and not one of these features is possessed by a municipality in this country.

"There the city is practically autonomous; it controls its own affairs, its government is responsible to its citizens, and its citizens make and unmake its government. Here a city is a mere creature of the legislature; its charter a legislative grant, altered at the pleasure of the legislature. There is a stable and permanent civil service in every municipality in Europe; in what city here have we anything of the kind? In Europe questions of partisan national politics not only do not decide, but they have no place in city affairs. Here the national political parties control our city administration. Does not this striking contrast show us in part the reason why municipal government is on the whole successful there and a conspicuous failure here?

"Turning now to our own country let us see whether we have made any progress in recent years in solving the municipal problem. It was about the year 1874 or 1875 that you had the Municipal Commission appointed by your Governor Hartranft; at nearly the same time there was a commission appointed by Governor Tilden of New York. If you will read the two reports, you will find embodied in each substantially the same principles set forth as essential to a good municipal government; and there was not a city in the country in whose government one of these principles was embodied, not one. In one of the papers before the Conference to-day, was read a very remarkable extract from the report of the Tilden Commission, which pointed to the indifference of the citizens and the national political partisanship

of the citizens as a reason why municipal government here was a failure.

"I think we have made immense progress since then. You must remember, gentlemen, that in this country we had not a particle of machinery with which to grapple with the municipal problem when it came. We had no expert public administrators. We had simply the town meeting plan of government. With that town meeting plan we attempted to meet the municipal evils as they came up. Of course we failed. But since 1876 we have seen charters improve until the present charter of Brooklyn is pointed to, in view of the given circumstances, as a model charter. You certainly have in Philadelphia, under the Bullitt Law, a charter much improved over that formerly governing this city. We have seen a national civil reform law passed and fairly well enforced within its limited sphere, a sphere constantly widening under the pressure of growing public sentiment. We have seen similar laws passed in several states, and in some we have secured tolerable civil service. There are now a number of cities in which there is at least a pretense of observing some of the requirements of true civil service reform. In the last six years more than thirty of our states have adopted measures of ballot reform. When we get ballot reform which preserves and guards, not only the privacy of the act of voting, which not only makes the ballot secret, when we get that complete ballot reform which emancipates us from the practically exclusive monopoly of nominations which our party machines possess, a ballot reform which makes a nomination of independent citizens just as valuable and valid at the polls as the nominations of any party machine, when we get that, we shall have another and additional safeguard to public liberty. (Applause).

"We have seen the beginning in some states of proportional representation; they have it in part in Illinois. The antiquated system of district representation is peculiarly unfit for the government of a city. The interests of a city are one; it is a homogeneous political unit, not a federal aggregate of gerrymandered geographical divisions. There

is no propriety in having a representative of the first ward and of the second ward and of the third, fourth and fifth, as if the interests of these wards in the city were separate and apart from the interests of any other ward. Such a system is an anachronism, and it will become obsolete. In this respect, as in many others, we have outgrown our political machinery, and we have not yet created the new machinery adequate for the work it has to do, but we are getting it, gentlemen. (Applause). The road is long, the work is arduous; but, thank God, the American people have travelled many a long and arduous road; and they will travel this one.

"I have mentioned several positive steps forward toward better government. You will observe that each one of them has been through changing the conditions under which bad government has flourished and substituting new conditions not so congenial to the politician who gains his livelihood by studying and manipulating the legal, semi-legal and extra-legal political machinery which overweighs and stifles progress. Our future work must lie in this same direction. We must labor to change the conditions which prevent good government, to simplify the machinery which interferes with the free expression and practical enforcement of the intelligent will of the majority.

"In this hasty survey of encouraging progress we should not fail to note the marked change which has taken place in public sentiment within a few years. I remember when a civil service reform association was either a Republican or a Democratic civil service reform association; and Democrats would not join the one, nor Republicans the other. You laugh at that now. It was a depressing reality a few years ago. I remember well when, in a city whose Mayor honors us by his presence here to-night, a club of patriotic young men was formed, one of whose cardinal principles was that national politics had no proper place in local affairs, the charter members insisted that the club should be named 'Republican,' and no Democrats were admitted to membership. The young Democrats formed a similar organization, and Republican patriots were equally objectionable to them.

Let the City Club of New York, the Citizen's Association of Boston, and your Municipal League of Philadelphia bear witness to the immense progress in this respect within even the past decade. Ten years ago such organizations would have been impossible.

"This Conference with representatives from our great cities North and South, East and West, does it not mark a most notable advance for the cause of good government? Let us take courage, gentlemen. The people are not yet awake, but they are wakening.

"One important lesson of this Conference must have been impressed on the minds of all who have taken part in it. The municipal reformers have for many years been duplicating one another's work unnecessarily. We have had no means of inter-communication; we have not been able to share one another's knowledge. In this country of ours, there are examples of almost every kind of political experiment. If we only knew of these experiments, if we had some means of interchanging our dearly-bought knowledge, we should save ourselves a deal of time and futile effort. I look to the formation or growth out of this Municipal Conference, and as its most valuable result, of some kind of National Municipal League or National Municipal Council, call it what you please, but a central body to which information can be sent, and which will make it its business to gather information on its own account, to revise, condense, and compare reports made to it, and to keep the local centers of reform throughout the country in touch with one another. If you have a good thing in Philadelphia, a point in your charter, which we should have in New York, we should know it. If New York's experience will prove of any avail to Chicago, Chicago should have the benefit of it, if only by way of awful example. We have no desire to try experiments that have been tried and have failed already.

"There has been lately a very instructive piece of work done, and if you will allow me, I will refer to it. It illustrates, in a pointed way, the importance of the thought I have just tried to express. Every one of you who is a father

must have been interested in a great discussion which has been going on for many years, in regard to the inadequacy of the education furnished in our primary and secondary schools; it is one of the great educational questions of the age. How could the real elements of the question be determined? At a national conference of educators a committee of ten was appointed. That committee of ten first formulated ten or a dozen searching questions, answers to which, by competent people, would furnish the necessary facts upon which to base further efforts, if any should prove practicable; then appointed nine sub-committees, each consisting of ten representatives of institutions in different parts of the country, and each of the nine sub-committees were charged with the duty of answering these questions with reference to a special subject taught or sought to be taught in our schools. Each of these sub-committees, representing institutions from Maine to Texas, and from Oregon to the Gulf, held meetings, compared experiences and prepared careful answers to these questions as to its special subject. The Central Committee then examined and compared the reports of its nine sub-committees. And, instead of confusion and controversy, it was found that educators all over this broad land, agreed on all the fundamental propositions! The grand result was a report formulated by the Central Committee which gave a practical program of work for every primary and secondary school in the United States, and out of which we may hope that before many years we shall have a primary and secondary course of education throughout this country, based upon genuine philosophical principles.

"Before there was this national organization which fused and combined all these various experiences, the different educational reformers were working by themselves, and working in the dark. Cannot we do something like that for municipal reform? The Chairman of this Conference can easily nominate a committee to ask these questions. These questions can be sent to men all over the country familiar with the local conditions. The answers to these questions will give us a practical program. (Applause).

"One thing was said by one of my predecessors here to-night that I feel I cannot let go unchallenged. It was to the effect that the people could have good government whenever they wished. It may be true that we have as good government as we deserve; I have no quarrel with that proposition; but the statement that the people can have good government whenever they wish it, I regard as a most intolerable fallacy—they cannot. The statement is an absurdity; I should like to call it by a stronger name. The people are separated from the government by such a complexity of machinery; there is such a mass of detail work connected with the party organizations; there is such a cumbersomeness about our whole political machinery that in order to understand or use it effectively a man must give his whole time to it; and the man who must give his whole time to anything in this age of the world must make his living out of it. Hence the whole brood of so-called professional politicians.

"Now, gentlemen, we must remember as reformers that we cannot do our work in a day or by any sudden uprising of the people. Let us not deceive ourselves by any delusive belief that we have only really to desire good government to get it. We must change the conditions. We must labor to simplify the machinery. A large portion of it must be thrown into the junk heap. We must get the people nearer to nominating and nearer to electing. We must follow the industrial lesson of this industrial age, and abolish the present type of politician, who is nothing but a middleman after all. (Applause).

"In this age of the world, politicians, professional politicians, to handle the machinery, should be as unnecessary as middlemen between the consumer and the producer. They should be accepted only in so far as they are necessary, and the necessity of the present type of politicians should always be regarded as an evil. (Laughter). But must we not have organization? Yes, plenty of it. Leaders? Yes, we must follow leaders. But government by syndicate in our cities which we call "rings," captains of political industry whom

we call "bosses," are they useful to free institutions? No, they are simply the natural products of the present reign of complicated political machinery, and gain their living by perpetuating it. (Applause).

"Gentlemen, we must succeed. Whether it be soon or whether it be late, we shall succeed. The whole future of our country depends upon our success. Labor then for ballot reform, labor for civil service reform, labor for separate municipal elections, for home rule and for business administration of our cities, labor for the separation of national politics from municipal affairs. Labor in every direction which tends to advance the cause of human freedom; every effort helps. The municipal evil is many-branched and many-rooted; we must cut off the branches and pull up the roots. The majority of the people of this country will soon live in our cities; the majority of votes on election day will be cast in the cities; the majority of the country's wealth is already there. Most of the public offices are in the cities. If our cities are left impure, of what avail is a national government. We shall not have one very long. If we make our municipalities pure, the future of our institutions is assured. Remember, gentlemen, that it is a democratic republic that is on trial in our municipal administrations. We must succeed." (Applause).

Mr. Reeves introduced Mr. Sylvester Baxter, of *The Boston Herald*.

MR. SYLVESTER BAXTER:—

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I have been immensely impressed by the thought of these gentlemen coming together from all parts of the country to give their earnest attention to this great subject. There are few things more worthy of our attention than this reform. It is notable that, with all the serious shortcomings of our municipal systems, we have also found some cause for mutual congratulations in the fact that in each city whose conditions have been described to us, there has been some aspect of its government in which its

people take worthy pride. Therefore in some ways things are, after all, better than we thought they were; even Baltimore, which has been painted in pretty dark colors for us, has, as I have had occasion to observe, an excellent system of municipal water works. In light of the knowledge that so much genuine progress has been made, we have the best of ground for confidence that through the intelligent effort that will hereafter be brought to bear a greater and more rapid advance awaits us.

"There is also a sort of humorous aspect to the adverse side of our cause. It has struck me to-day that we are not unlike patients assembled in a hospital, examining together and describing to each other our sore places, and even deriving some comfort from the fact that we are all suffering alike. For there has been a great similarity in the diagnosis—there is but one general complaint; there are close resemblances in the causes of each case, though there are various aspects of the disease.

"The remedies suggested are many. There have been proposed various excellent ways in which to reach better conditions. There is, for instance, the principle of executive responsibility, and above all the necessity of arousing real public spirit has been emphasized. But there are three things so important that I wish to speak briefly of them. First, there is the manifest need of an adequate civil service, from the lack of which we all suffer. We have indeed made an approach to the correct system in some of our cities. It is essential to eliminate the great bane of political influence and patronage, of the interference of the great political parties in our municipal affairs, and the exploitation of our city governments for their ends. But we have heard much of that aspect of the question. In the cities where we have made the nearest approach to a good civil service, even in Boston, there is still vast room for improvement. I think that stream will be bridged and the solution of the problem found in a comparatively near future.

"Another great evil proceeds from the contract system in municipal work. I cannot help regarding the existence

of the contract system in this connection as indicating a low stage of municipal development. I think that with an approach to better forms of government we shall be able to do our public work directly. The contract system is one of the greatest evils in our municipal system in bringing into local politics the corrupt practices of irresponsible contractors, and their pressure to have the administration of public affairs conducted in their own private interests. To-day, of course, we find it very difficult to have direct city work done satisfactorily. It is done, however, to a certain extent, in some cities. An instance has recently been called to my mind in London, where they are wrestling with enormous problems at present and grappling with them very satisfactorily; where the County Council has determined to abolish the contract system so far as practicable and adopt a system of direct municipal work. As an instance, a sewer was to be constructed in a certain part of the city, and bids were advertised for from contractors. The engineer of the city estimated the cost at \$45,000. The contractors' bids were far above that figure and they were not accepted. The Council ordered it done directly, and the result was a splendidly constructed sewer was built for \$28,000.

"I believe that with the application of sufficient thought—or the same degree of thought which our business men apply to their own affairs—to the administration of public matters, some method will be devised by which we can secure the best quality of work from well paid and intelligent city workmen rather than from foreign hirelings at starvation wages in the employ of contractors.

"The third great evil of which I wish to speak is the predominance of great corporations in our city affairs; the tremendous corrupting influence exerted by street railway corporations, gas corporations, electric corporations, telephone companies, and the like. You have heard the stories repeatedly and there is no reason for reiteration now. I think we cannot do too much in the way of taking these services upon ourselves.

"Our great Bostonian, the distinguished author, the

great preacher, the great philanthropist, who, above all, has been characterized by Mr. Howells very happily as pre-eminently entitled to fame as *a great citizen*, has very wisely laid the greatest stress upon the force of "the together," as the strongest factor in the work that moves the world. Great ends have been accomplished only through united effort. A handful of determined souls, working in unision for a common result, may thus effect marvels.

"Let us therefore take the lesson of our adversary to heart. These infamous combines of a few selfish and unprincipled men, exemplified in Tammany, aiming to despoil and plunder a great city, accomplish wonders in evil ways.

"So we, working together, forming as a result of this conference a National Municipal League, and meeting year after year and bringing the force of our influence to bear in Philadelphia, in New York, in Boston, in Chicago, in Cincinnati and elsewhere, will persistently direct public attention to these questions. Thus by united endeavor we can accomplish wonders and reach our end." (Applause).

Mr. Reeves introduced James M. Beck, Esq., of Philadelphia.

JAMES M. BECK, ESQ:—

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, it is both a privilege and honor to address a gathering so broadly representative of many of the best influences and elements of American life, and my only regret in so doing is that my engagements have been such as to preclude the preparation which either the dignity of the audience or the character of the occasion alike deserve.

"This National Conference for Good City Government is at once a confession of an evil and an appreciation of a danger, and I think we can congratulate ourselves upon this the first step to this or any other reform. To make public confession of the evil, however, it did not need these public-spirited men to come together, for by the common consent of intelligent men throughout the country, the great and signal

defect in our American political system is the maladministration of its municipalities. That sentiment voices itself in the words of the Hon. Andrew D. White, who, in an article some months ago in the *Forum*, stated that which the experience of all travellers will amply corroborate, viz, that he found in Europe no municipality that was worse governed than the best of ours, until in his travels he reached Constantinople, where, in its filthy streets and rotting wharves he found some resemblance to those of New York and Philadelphia. (Laughter.) Indeed, it seems to me that this public confession perhaps evidences itself in the character of our national humor. Witness, for instance, the story of the New Yorker who went to Heaven, and was naturally enough denied admittance; (laughter) going below and finding the sign conspicuously posted, 'Standing Room Only,' he buried his face in his hands and said, 'Must I go back to New York?' Stories such as these are the bubbles on the surface, but underneath there courses in the minds of the American people, a deep, profound current of feeling, which realizes the many defects in our municipal governments. Therefore, it seems to me that this notable gathering of men is timely.

"The cause of municipal government is of exceptional importance in this country. America, our New York and Chicago friends to the contrary notwithstanding, has no metropolis (laughter), but is a nation of many cities, of thirty cities of over a hundred thousand inhabitants, and three of over one million. Between these cities there exist no such disparity either in area or population as to give to any the predominance that Paris enjoys in France or London in England. We might, therefore, expect that a nation of many cities would be a nation of well-governed cities, but alas! the very opposite is found to be the case. Another reason for making this subject of exceptional moment is that the population of our country, under the stress of economic laws which we are as powerless to stem as the current of Niagara, is being increasingly concentrated in the cities. In 1790 only three per cent. of the population were in the

cities; to-day over thirty per cent. are there to be found. I believe then, and I think it is a profound truth that each of us may take to heart to-night, that the future of the American city is the future of the American state. We might as well expect this superstructure, within whose walls we stand, to remain suspended in the air, if we were to remove the solid foundations of masonry from under our feet, as to expect our nation to endure if it is to rest upon a foundation of rotten and corrupt municipalities.

"It is not my purpose to discuss the evil, but if you will pardon me for a few moments, I wish to advert to one of its causes.

"It is in the power of the people to 'reform it altogether;' because it is a philosophic truth that a municipal government in its administration is but a reflex of the average intelligence and conscience of the community. It is no better and it is no worse, and it cannot be in the nature of things. A speaker in the Conference this afternoon propounded a most pertinent query in asking whether we deserved any better government than we have. At the same session much was said about a monster called Tammany Hall. While I do not defend this institution, I do think it is but giving the devil his due to say it is not responsible for all the evils of municipal government in New York or elsewhere. (Laughter). It was also asserted that the underlying motive for the interest of the ignorant and poorer element of the population was their desire and ambition to participate in the distribution of office. While for my part I would not for one moment underestimate the pernicious influence of the spoils system in this country, I think we are too apt to exaggerate the influence it wields. In my experience only a small per cent. of the so-called ward workers desire office. For the most part the pursuit of politics is a recreation. Apart from this, the desire to serve in public place is not dishonorable. This is the people's government and not one of a leisure class as in England, and the manual toiler has as much right to his ambition to receive a public appointment as a letter carrier, as the statesman has to be a cabinet minister. The

real danger to our government, either national or municipal, lies in the apathy of its voters, and therefore the really dangerous class of the community, which this Conference should most strongly criticise, are the people of property and intelligence, who feel that their hands are much too clean and nice to engage in politics. (Applause). Between the Tammany heeler, who takes an interest in politics and attends the primaries, who stands on election day at the polls with his window-book in hand, let his motive be as selfish as you please, and the property holder, who will not wet his patent-leathers by going to the polls on a rainy morning, I have more respect for the Tammany heeler. The remedy for this evil of bad city government lies in the people of intelligence and property in the community, and to their lasting shame they are the very people, who, while criticising the party workers, do not feel sufficient interest in public affairs to participate in them. To accomplish any good the moral and intellectual men of the community must become practical politicians. To win an election they must remember that something more is required than fine addresses and entertaining essays. Elections are won by votes and votes alone. Remember that a day before election is quite too soon; a day after election is an eternity too late. It is on election day that the Scripture should be fulfilled, 'Now is the accepted time, and this is the day of salvation.' (Applause). Nay more, votes must not only be cast on election day and at the polling place, but they must be counted.

"I remember a brilliant satire written by a Philadelphian, and doubtless familiar to many of you, called 'Solid for Mulhooly.' In it the boss let fall this Baconian apothegm: 'An election officer well in hand is worth half a dozen voters on the half shell.' (Laughter). It is because people of intelligence and of property dream of good government for three hundred and sixty-four days of the year, and on the three hundred and sixty-fifth day of the year sit at home, hugging their firesides, or go to their counting-houses without voting, that our city governments are what they are. This is one of

the great causes of the evil which this Conference is called upon to combat.

"Apart from the apathy of good citizens, another cause of our poor municipal governments is the division of citizens in municipal questions upon national political grounds. (Applause). I have taken some interest in politics for the last ten years, and have at times stood at the polling window and have watched good citizens of all parties come to the polls, ask for the straight ticket, and elect a town councilman on the momentous question of a high or low tariff. The phenomenon is peculiar to our country, and is an absurdity which no man can defend for a moment.

"It reminds me, gentlemen, of an incident in an interesting satire, which is a German classic, viz. : 'Wieland's History of the Abderites.' In this the author satirizes a fictitious community in which, like some real communities, the intelligent citizens seemed, by a kind of Calvinistic theology, predestined to be fools. If, for instance, the Abderites were about to erect a beautiful fountain to Neptune, they discovered on the morning of the unveiling that they had reckoned without their water supply, and instead of a strong, steady stream, the water only trickled from the dolphins' nostrils as if they had the influenza. (Laughter). Now the burning political issue in Abdera upon which parties divided, arose in this peculiar way. A certain man had occasion to go across the desert, and for this purpose hired a mule and muleteer, and when he had journeyed some hours, the sun being very hot, he asked the muleteer to stop the mule so that he could get down and rest in its shadow. The muleteer refused to do this unless he was given extra compensation. 'But,' said the man, 'you hired the mule to me ; certainly I have the right to the shadow. You cannot have a mule without a shadow.' The muleteer replied that he had hired the mule, but not the shadow, and that it would require a separate and distinct agreement, based upon a new consideration, before he would allow the shadow to be used. Unable to adjust their difference they returned to Abdera. This cause *celebre* was tried in the lower court, and then in the

Supreme Court, and then in the Municipal Council, and finally, as an outgrowth of the feeling between their respective partisans, two political parties were formed in Abdera, upon which all municipal questions were decided, one called for brevity the 'Shads' and the other 'Asses.' (Laughter).

"When in Boston, Chicago, New York or Philadelphia, men of character, property and intelligence go to the polls and elect men to pave and repair their streets, light their houses, and provide water, not upon the question of their ability to do these things, but according to their opinions as to whether the Wilson Bill or the McKinley Bill is the better for the country, are not the Democrats the "Shads," and the Republicans the "Asses?" (Laughter and applause). I believe firmly that the moment that the intelligent people of our American communities, for they are intelligent, form a due perception of the monstrous and infinite absurdity of such a principle of public action, that moment the power of the city boss and contract broker will be at an end. The division of good citizens of both parties on national politics is the opportunity of the spoilsman.

"It remains for me to say that I congratulate this National Conference upon the happy coincidence, that its first and initial session is in Philadelphia, and I say that for two reasons. In the first place, because from Philadelphia almost every noble influence and impulse with which this country has been blessed has come. It is the city of great conventions and nation building. From it, as from a fountain head, has flowed a perennial stream of noblest influence. It is a city (you will pardon the local pride) that not only builds the fleetest ships but helped to build the fleetest nation in the world, and to it America, in every trying crisis of its national life, has turned for truest inspiration. Here then, at this birthplace of our liberties and most sacred altar of our patriotism, you can gather from all parts of the country to consecrate yourselves anew to this new and most interesting development in the eternal and sublime problem of self-government; and here you can hopefully inaugurate a move-

ment, which, please God, will redeem America from perhaps its foulest disgrace.

"Besides this, there is this additional propriety in your coming here. I do not say a great deal for the Philadelphia city government in all its branches. Its legislative branch has been I fear a failure, and to some extent a scandal and an open reproach. While it is true that many excellent men are in the Council chambers, yet it is also true that men sit there to administrate law for their fellow citizens of Philadelphia whose election is a lasting disgrace to this city. In the executive branch of our city government, however, municipal reform has under its present Mayor taken a distinct step forward. Although I am a member of the minority party of Philadelphia, it gives me pleasure to testify to the universal respect in which the present Mayor of Philadelphia is held by good citizens of all parties, and I will therefore ask you, gentlemen, to drink the health of his honor the Mayor of Philadelphia." (Applause).

Mr. Reeves introduced W. Harris Roome, Esq., of New York.

W. HARRIS ROOME, ESQ. :—

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, it is now so late that I will detain you but a moment. We have all been much interested in what has been said this evening, and, as a result, a most important question presents itself to every one of us, which is: What are we individually going to do to bring about the reforms which we have been discussing? In my judgment, it is necessary that there should be at the present time, and for some years to come, a third organization in every city, an organization which shall be independent and non-partisan. This is essential, in order that proper candidates for local offices shall be put in nomination at every election. Under our present system, such candidates are nominated only when the national parties consider it to their advantage to nominate them. The city of Brooklyn, some years ago, had an admirable and independent Mayor in Mr. Low, but

for the want of an organized independent movement, after Mr. Low went out of office, the management of the public affairs of the city was as inefficient and corrupt as at any previous period. When the revolution of independent public opinion again manifested itself before the last election, the Republican leaders were bright enough to see that success would result to their party if they nominated a candidate worthy of public confidence. This they did, and in consequence elected their candidates. But, gentlemen, we ought not to be obliged to wait until the national parties are willing to give us relief. We should organize and be prepared to put our own candidates in the field, whenever necessary. Permanent reform lies only in this direction. When Mayor Schieren retires from office, who will be nominated in his place? The party bosses are now repairing their fences, and day in and day out are working to build up and strengthen their organizations. We know the character of the men they would like to nominate. Shall it be after Mayor Schieren, as it was after Mayor Low, the 'deluge?' Until public feeling is so educated to the importance of honest and capable local government that the national parties will feel it to be their duty to nominate only proper candidates, a third non-partisan organization is necessary. The corrupt rings must be absolutely exterminated, and at every election should be defeated. We must not be satisfied with an occasional victory. We must destroy the rings and the bosses, root and branch.

"There was a man who sat at a street corner; his right arm was gone from the elbow, and in the stump hung a wire loop with which he turned the crank of a hand-organ. His left arm was gone from the shoulder, both his legs were off, and one eye was out. On his breast he had a sign on which was written: 'I lost my left arm at Chickamaugua, my right leg in the battle of the Wilderness,' and so on. As he played, a man came along wearing a slouch hat and dropped a five dollar note in a little tin can in front of the musician. He stopped playing, and looking up at the man, said: 'Did you know that you gave me \$5?' 'Why, certainly, stranger,' was the answer. 'Will you please tell me why you gave me so

much?' was asked. 'Why, of course,' was the reply. 'You see I am a Southerner, and I fought in every one of those battles that you have marked on your chest, and after the war was over, I went out West and made a lot of money, and I have come back here in the North to live, and you are the first Northern soldier that I have seen trimmed to suit me.'

"Gentlemen, this is the only way in which to deal with the bosses and the rings. Cut off absolutely all of their present support and drive them into adopting an honest means of livelihood, and then, if they fall by the wayside, we will give them sufficient assistance to aid them in their distress.

"Let us unite in forming a third non-partisan organization, and then we will obtain the various reforms concerning which we have heard so much this evening. The task may be difficult, the victory will be the greater.

"All merit comes from braving the unequal,
All glory comes from daring to begin,
Fame loves the state that, reckless of the sequel,
Fights long and well, whether it lose or win."

ADDRESSES

DELIVERED AT THE ASSOCIATION HALL MEETING,
FRIDAY, JANUARY 26, 1894.

Introductory remarks of HON. JOHN FIELD, presiding officer :—

Ladies and Gentlemen, I certainly esteem it an honor to be called on to preside over such a meeting as this, for such a purpose, and it is certainly a very encouraging sign of the times to see such an assemblage here this evening, considering the condition of the weather. It is good to see that our citizens are taking such an interest in this question, which I regard to-day as one of the most important that is presented to us as a nation, that is, good municipal government.

I want to say that after considerable experience in reform movements, and also after having had considerable experience as a public official, I reached this deliberate conclusion, that the spoils system is the tap-root of all political corruption. Destroy the tap-root and half the battle for good city government is won. (Applause).

I will not detain you with any remarks this evening, because we have a program before us that I am sure will meet your fullest expectations. The first speaker on that program is one that I might say to any American audience, requires no introduction.

WHAT THE CHURCH CAN DO FOR MUNICIPAL REFORM.

BY REV. W. S. RAINSFORD, D. D., NEW YORK.

The subject you give to me compels a broad view. You do not desire to hear of guilds and church societies—the mint, anise and cummin of every active church organization. On the mere line of organization, the best equipped church cannot for one moment compare with organizations that control sections or wards of any of our cities. How, indeed, should they? These latter have a very narrow and definite aim; the rewards they seek, too, are definite. While, from the nature of the case, the fold of the church is inclusive, its very strength lies in its comprehensiveness, and not its narrowness. It can never, therefore, hope to weld together all its membership in opposition to any one political party, or in support of any one political step. The church must stand for ideas rather than methods. Let us get these ideas right, and they will soon clothe themselves in fitting acts. The method of the church is the method of the leaven, and not the method of the law.

You do not, therefore, wish me to waste your time with mere details of church organization. You do want to hear from me how the vital life of the church should affect the great cause of righteousness, and justice, and civilization, to which you have vowed yourselves. The very nature of this campaign, friends, is ethical. Here is the first point. Its aim and its endeavor is to uphold morals in the largest and fullest sense. And just because it knows no other end and disclaims all personal ambitions, seeking only to bring on a fairer and better day, the aims of the churches and the aims of this Municipal Reform League are one.

Now, as to carrying out these aims. Let us see if a closer and more intelligent union between church and would-be

reformers is not only possible, but probable. We will never get better laws or better cities till better men make the one and better men live in the other. We have sometimes a slipshod way of trying to get around the Almighty order ; but it will not do. You may load your statute book with legislation, carried through in the white heat of campaign, or during some moral spasm of popular feeling. What is its use? It is worse than useless unless it is made operative by the steady pressure of enlightened conscience. Legislation must follow the enlightenment of conscience, not conscience follow legislation. Now I distinctly claim that the standard of this land in morals is not ahead of, but a little behind, the standard of morals that obtains in the Christian churches. Mark, I say, only a little. The church ought to be and is on questions of morals a little in advance of public sentiment. It cannot be very much in advance, or it would be no guide. If he would help me, if he would in truth lead me, the guide I take to be my aid in a mountain ascent, or to point my path through some untracked wilderness, must be near, and not far off. I need to grasp his hand and feel his rope, if it is on the mountain ; or to see his form, if it is in the wilderness. The empty echo of a voice, the uncertain marking of a step, are no equivalents for a guide. Now just because the Christian churches are essentially part and parcel of the life to which they minister, they are, I say, a little ahead, not much, but still a little, of the moral sentiment of the people.

Now, bearing this in mind, what do we mean by goodness, to-day? Naturally, we admit that the standard of goodness is imperfect, sometimes in an extraordinary degree. Our very rendering of the word good is ridiculously inadequate ; we use it too often in a merely self-regarding sense. Most people call a man good if he fulfils the standards of righteousness in very partial degree. He may take care of himself, spend all his life and lay up all his money merely for his family ; he may be utterly careless of his nation, selfish towards his city, wilfully ignorant or disobedient to the requirements of good citizenship—he still is called good. But as we apply to such a man the term good, we feel that it

is a misnomer. The fireside virtues are well enough, absolutely important in their place, but theirs is not the only place in which man's obligations to public good are discharged.

"God bless me and my wife,
My son John and his wife,
We four and no more. Amen."

This sort of religion will not pass for goodness much longer. Beyond question, the standard of goodness is rising and widening to-day; the end of life is no longer declared to be the saving of one's own soul. It begins there. But individual goodness exists as the bee exists for the hive—that the store of it and the sweetness of it may enrich the community. The end of Christian effort, the goal of Christian hope, is not the good man, but the Holy City.

Here, then, I hold, the widening of the church's conception of goodness must profoundly affect reforms. You who feel the all-importance of such reforms, need to set about with confidence the capture of the churches. It is their duty to support you. It is their privilege to aid you. It is treachery to fail to support you. And the churches—multitudes within them, to-day, are deeply conscious of the fact that they no longer take the place that they should take in the confidence and respect of many thoughtful and self-sacrificing men. In such movements as you have inaugurated, there is a great chance for the churches themselves. By thoroughly championing such a cause, they can do a great deal to commend themselves to the public conscience in the sight of God.

Then as to the future success of this movement. Again, I do not hesitate to say that it is absolutely dependent on the development of a better, higher, more pervasive social esteem in the community. The life of every community depends on and is moulded by its standard of social esteem. No matter how rude that community may be, how barbaric its civilization, the rule holds good. Many years ago, I spent some months in the camp of Indians that had never met white men except in war. The social esteem of the red man

was very distinctly understood, capable of the clearest possible expression in those days ; it consisted of scalps and stolen ponies. There is not a criminal gang in any of our large cities but is held together by its own proper standard of social esteem. It may seem to you impossible ; were you to study its standards they would seem ridiculous ; but they are all-sufficient to those who obey them.

Now, what standard of social esteem generally prevails in our community to-day ? Alas ! there can be but one answer given to this question. It is wealth. Social esteem is dependent on its possession, little matter how it was got, little matter how it is defended ; some objection may have been made to the original getter or defender, but we are not hard on his children. All doors open to gold ; the best men find it hard to resist wealth ; he who possesses it is cursed with false friends, who flatter and cajole, and envious foes who say behind his back what they will not dare to say to his face ; he is surrounded by a treble circle of bowing sycophants. They court him, crowd him, flatter him, take his presents, rush to his hospitality, put his sons in clubs, marry his daughters, open all doors to him—alas ! even the doors of the cabinet of the embassy. A body of cultured and refined people who shall express all that is important, true, artistic, witty and progressive in our civilization—that is what society ought to be. But these would-be social dictators claim admiration and exercise sway on the ground of money—and only money. Such a society is without parallel in the history of any race, and yet it is a positive danger to us to-day.

You say, What has all this tirade got to do with Municipal Reform and the aid the church can give it ? It has very much to do with it. It is because the upper class, so called, without high aims, without sympathy, without any sense of municipal obligation, without anything indeed that goes to make a true aristocracy, are binding themselves together to glorify nothing but wealth. It is largely for this reason that the masses of the illiterate and working people bind themselves together to oppose such wealth. And both bodies of people find their natural field in the city. The church

has hesitated between the two ; she cannot afford to hesitate. The sign under which she is sworn to do battle is not the dollar but the cross. In all ages, under all changes of law, she has been professedly on the side of the poor as was her Lord. It is the want of unity, the prevalence of ignorance, the warping of prejudice, the craving for power—something that shall offset the tremendous power of wealth—that largely binds what we call the half civilized and uneducated part of the community together in our cities. And we can only reach them by one and all uniting to give them another and a better standard of social esteem than the standard of money. For the standard that obtains among the millionaires will obtain among the labor-union voters. The standard that men follow at the club will just as certainly dominate the newspaper boy on the street. The millionaire has his following, so has the lad who generally has a dollar in his pocket. And only by persistent Christian effort, only by new and strong preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ in its very essence and spirit, can we make men see that the end of life is not gain but duty.

But, you say, the churches are away behind in this matter ; you need to convert them to this movement. Be patient yet a moment—of course you do. Why are the churches behind in this matter ? Because the churches are part and parcel of the people ; they are bound up to the people ; they move slowly, because the people move slowly. The church is an evolution ; she slowly casts off forms that are no longer useful ; she slowly creates forms to fit the needs of the time. She could be no aid to the community if she registered readily and with great sensitiveness all the temporal movements within it, all the fluctuations of opinion. Evolution and devolution both work within her, the sloughing off of members no longer useful, the fitting of new organs to new uses, and both the result of life ; the slowness of the church's movement is the result of her unity with the people she must lead and direct.

I have detained you long enough, but be patient with me yet a moment. On one point further I would dwell. This

cause we must win ; in this struggle victory is sure. How do we know it? We *feel* it. That is the final argument after all. Life is ever saved by instinct, whether it be the ephemera or the man. Let instinct fail or falter, and the life it affects is sacrificed. Life literally lives by obedience to instinct. Side by side in one piece of clay are two smooth, long, cylindrical holes sealed up. At the bottom of each is a larva. Look at them and you will see that whereas one larva fills up the hole completely, the other has the same length as its body of empty space above it. In their first rudimentary stage, no microscope can detect the difference between those two caterpillars. What does the empty space then mean? Is it chance? Is it useless? No. The one is a male and therefore grows horns ; the lady will not grow any. That is the meaning of the space above the head of number one. Instinct never fails, not the instinct even of the beetle.

But instinct rises higher. In man it is the last, the final voice. We venture, then, to call it by another name. Resident in man, in all ages, in all times, in all religions, under almost all sorts of environment, we still find it, and we call it *faith*. It proves its reality by giving invariably the best it has to the best it knows. There is plenty of it in the world to-day. How do we know that we are not fools and blind to add the effort and trouble that this campaign means to our other cares? How do we know that we are not fools in burdening ourselves with obligations, with undertaking duties that will bring us many an unpleasant hour and perhaps cost us many friends? There is only one answer—we do it because we must. Instinct tells us it is right. We, in our own small way, too, must offer what we have to the best we know.

In December, 1893, a terrible gale met the S. S. Amsterdam. As the gale went down, a schooner in distress was sighted ; the steamer bore up to aid. Fourteen men were then seen lashed to the rigging, working the pumps in freezing weather, barely able to keep their schooner afloat. The captain of the Amsterdam laid his steamer to, and called for volunteers to launch the life-boat. They came, six men and an officer. She had almost reached the schooner, when a

terrible sea struck and swamped her. The big liner stood as near as she could to save her drowning men ; but the weather was bitter and the sleet was thick, and the poor fellows could not hold on till the life-line was thrown to them, and all but one failed to make good their grasp and drowned before their comrades' eyes. Then a noble deed was done. Without any word from the captain, seven more volunteered to launch the other boat, and again seek to save the fourteen men whom they did not know. If you had seen them on the deck before the Amsterdam left New York, you would no doubt have thought them commonplace men enough. If you had seen them going about their business or loafing about the ship, you would not have picked them out as typical heroes. But under the common, gray crust of the Dutchman's exterior there burned the sacred fire.

The instinct that has carried man up and on, and we believe will carry him on forever, to offer the best he has to the best he knows, what justifies it? Nothing he obtains here. Long before the victory which he has foreseen is won; long before that Messiah steps forth whose face he has yearned to behold, he has passed from earth away. Nothing justifies it, I say, but the ever triumphant instinct of nature—man at his best—that, at the last, man at his best will not be put to confusion. Instincts higher than those of the belly or the pocket shall surely not be gainsayed ; what holds good for the beetle holds good for the man. And so we must follow our higher aims ; not only follow our appetites, but obey and follow our dreams, for

"Right must win, since God is God."

In this common effort, then, to purify our cities and all the complex life which those cities affect, we obey this first, last and final argument—we feel it is the thing to do ; therefore we seek to do it, and in the doing of it will do what we can to unite all good men in the community. We do it because we must. It is not because Tammany is weakening or losing a few votes in New York ; or merely because there are some signs of better government elsewhere. It is because

we have got to do the best thing we know. When you have said that, you have said all there is about it. As iron sharpeneth iron, so doth the face of man his friend. We go back to the various lives and employments, but we do not go as we came. We go back with clearer views of duty, and larger hopes for the future. Let us remember that we have vast allies, we are not alone ; the tides of God are flowing beneath us, the trade winds of God are filling our sails.

A man may turn from his friend and find a new one ; he may neglect fortune and fickle fortune may, by his very carelessness, be drawn to press on him her favors ; but if he has a fair vision and obeys it not, it leaves him and cometh not again. If, therefore, during these past days, you have had a dream of a fair city and a better life, I say to you to-night, Arise and follow your dream ! For

“ Though love repine and reason chafe,
There came a voice without reply ;
‘ Tis man’s perdition to be safe,
When for the truth he ought to die.”

THE CONDITION OF MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS IN BALTIMORE.

BY CHARLES J. BONAPARTE, BALTIMORE, MD.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I feel bound to tell you that all I had to say on the subject mentioned by the President, I said yesterday, and I will not venture to repeat it, for it was not cheerful then, and it has not grown more so since. Among the many and very kind criticisms which I heard on that paper, there was one that raised my opinion of human nature because it was not too kind for me to believe it sincere. I was told I had failed to indicate a remedy for those evils which the critic did not think I had failed to indicate as existing. I will endeavor very briefly, to repair this omission.

I suggested the remedy I recommended when I said at the close of my paper, that in the city where I was born and where I now live, and in every other city wherever situated, so long as it is inhabited by men,—I do not venture to speak as to that city which some of those who have addressed us saw in prophecy—but I am quite sure that while we continue to live and to be the beings we are, every community will have that kind and degree of good government which it deserves. If you wish to secure for the community a better government, you must make the community deserve a better government, and show that it deserves it by getting it. (Applause).

This is very much like the old problem of how to learn to swim. You will never learn to swim without going into the water, and there is no real way to accomplish the feat except to try until you do it. The great danger in all these movements, the one temptation to which professional reformers are exposed, is that, instead of undertaking to actually remove the evil, they want to persuade everybody else that the one particular, patent remedy which they consider meri-

torious beyond everything else, must be universally applied before we try to do anything. (Applause).

We have heard during the past two days many different measures recommended, and of these there is hardly one wherein there is not some promise of good; hardly one which, if it could be practically applied, would not render the governments of our great cities more worthy of the people who live in them, or, perhaps I should say, more worthy of what the people who live in them ought to be. I have no evil to say of any of the papers or any of the various suggested plans to secure either a wider participation of the better endowed sex in politics, which it would doubtless make better, as it does everything it touches; or a clearer comprehension by clergymen and religious bodies of their relation to politics; or the adoption of different schemes of civic administration or popular representation, whereby this or that evil which we find before our eyes will be cured. But, while we are talking about these things, and thinking and writing about them and doing that which no doubt contains a promise of good for the future, there is always right before us some present duty, some wicked man to be denounced or punished, some scandal to be exposed, some abuse to be met and combated, some particular practical reform that you can see will actually do away with some evil that you can also see. While thinking how you could make an ideal city, try to make the city actually before you, that city which is a living thing, and not a thing drawn on paper. Try to make that somewhat nearer to what you have in mind. (Applause).

I listened with great pleasure to the gentleman who addressed us on the subject of participation in the primaries. Perhaps I listened to him with the greater pleasure because I never voted at a primary in my life, and I have no doubt, from the experience of others, that had I done so I might have resembled the other gentlemen, who felt like one grain of corn in a peck of dirt when he went to a primary. Nevertheless, that is what I should like to see every man do, and what a man, I mean an honorable man, would do more readily

if he got rid of a false theory as to what going into a primary means. Possibly I can illustrate my own doctrine of speaking to the point and practically if I come down from generalities to one concrete application of it, and point out why it is that good citizens keep away from the primaries, even those who, like one of the speakers to-day, are "not afraid of dirtying their hands, since they know they can wash them." (Laughter). When an honorable man goes into a primary, he does not pledge himself to vote for the candidate who shall be nominated at that primary; he does not announce himself to be a member of a party at whose primary he votes; the result of the primary will itself determine whether he is or is not a member of that party; and no citizen has the right to say that he is a Democrat or a Republican, is anything else that you chose to name, until he knows what man the party with whom he thus allies himself will offer to his suffrage at the polls. (Applause). He goes into the primary saying to the party "I *expect* to be able to work with you; I think you are *more likely* to offer me a field wherein I can labor with benefit to the community and with satisfaction to my own conscience than is your rival. I come to do what little I can to make your organization what I hope it will be, but if I try that and fail, I have not placed my conscience in your hands, and, whilst it was right for me to try to make you do well, since you will not do well, I will make you see that I know how badly you have done."

I return from the practical to the abstract, at least as near to the abstract as I will get this evening. Let me say that in this work of making the community better, so that it may deserve, and by deserving, get a better government, it appears to me a question that answers itself whether we can afford to do without any force that works for righteousness. In the work of trying to make the community better you can neglect any one part only with a result of harm to the whole. It is idle to ask whether such an immense engine for good as the ecclesiastical organization of Christendom, whether any organization aiming to make men better observe the moral principles of the Gospel, can remain neutral in such

work as that. Such a question is a calumny, it implies that this agency may have become a mere excrescence on the field in which it should ceaselessly work.

One of the speakers to whom we listened with great pleasure to-day, founded his hope upon education. If when you say "educate" you use the word in the sense I give to it, I fully agree with him; but it is not merely the education of children, and it is most emphatically not the education which you get from books, which I know as perhaps the most promising of all the various means to bring us better government. When you have placed the government in the hands of all its citizens, then you must make, if you would have the government what you wish it to be, its citizens worthy of the duties which you impose upon them. You can do that a little more easily if they know how to read (Laughter), but very little. Your voters will be no better able to cast their ballots as honorable and conscientious men should cast their ballots, because they can read the face of the two-dollar bills they are to receive for voting. Believe me, it is a pure fetich worship to expect book-learning to save you from the evils which must follow if you are neglecting the great ends of education, when you are attending to its mere accidents. What do you mean by education? When you break a horse, to fit him for his part in life, you make him a different kind of animal from what he was when you took him in hand. Now let your schools make men and women fit for the work before them, not by merely pumping into them a certain amount of instruction, but by developing those elements of character which they must have to discharge creditably the duties which you have imposed on them.

Benjamin Franklin had to use the money given him for his food to buy the books he studied; the part of his education which was most effective in making him the Benjamin Franklin of history, was the very necessity that fostered a determination to sell his food for the sake of gaining instruction. It was much less reading the books than acquiring the moral force needed to get them. (Applause.)

To explain the end of the education I recommend will also be the end of my remarks. It is perfectly hopeless, ladies and gentlemen, to found any moral movement upon self interest. We heard yesterday of a man who paid one hundred dollars annually to Tammany Hall, to be allowed to vote the Republican ticket. If he were merely a shareholder in a joint stock company called New York City, thinking only how he could make the largest possible dividend for himself, not thinking of other share-holders, and I do not see why, from that point of view, he needed to think of them, then he made a good investment when he paid his hundred dollars. He certainly saved himself time and trouble and annoyance and irritation worth more than that sum, by compounding with the abuses he saw around him. I need not say that the task of making or preserving any kind of good government in any community would be hopeless, if that community contained only or principally such men as he.

A very common argument in matters of this kind, one much abused, and which has done injury to the cause of municipal reform as it has to those of other reforms, is to tell the rich man that he should interest himself in the affairs of his city principally because his tax bill will be less at the end of the year. (Applause). There is really the same objection to this that there is to telling Sunday-school children they will always have a good time if they come to school when they see right before their eyes that those who go fishing on Sunday have a better time. (Laughter). He simply knows you are not telling the truth. He won't save money ; at least he will seldom save money by doing anything of the kind. It will cost him in time and labor and interruption of other business much more probably to make his city's government better, and whether his tax bill will really be smaller when this has been done is by no means as clear as we should wish it.

The writer of the paper read yesterday, of which I can say, not only as a matter of gallantry, but what you cannot always do in matters of gallantry, truthfully, as well, that I thought it the best paper read ; said that the great object of

an increased participation by her sex in at least municipal politics, the great advantage she saw in this was that it would import more "sentiment" into them. Here again, ladies and gentlemen, as I said about education, it depends upon what you mean by "sentiment." In one sense of the word I agree with her heartily, but I don't like that kind of sentiment which is talked about as "altruism." In the first place I don't know exactly what that word means. I have never yet quite understood if I get up and give my seat to a lady in the street car why that action should be called "altruistic." It may be that I do it because I think it is right. If you mean that by "altruism," I am reminded of the remark of a professor in a divinity school to whom a student brought a thesis in which, describing some events in the Old Testament, he said, "In the midst of all this tumult, the son of Amram stood unmoved." "Who do you mean by 'the son of Amram?'" "Please, sir, I meant Moses." "Well, if you meant Moses, why did not you say Moses." (Laughter).

If you mean a thing is right what is the use of calling it altruistic? Why do you take such an outlandish word to express such a familiar idea? (Laughter.)

I may have another motive: I may feel pretty well and not at all tired, and as a mere matter of habit, it makes me a little uncomfortable to see a lady standing while I am sitting, and, therefore, I think I would be more comfortable if I rode half a square holding on to the strap. If this is all that "altruism" means, I don't think much of or expect much from it. It looks, to my mind, very like a form of selfishness, and anyhow it will never move mountains.

The kind of "sentiment" which we want imported into municipal politics, the kind of sentiment that we want brought into every kind of work by which we hope to make our fellow men better, is the kind of sentiment to which the speaker who has just addressed you referred, when he told you of those men, who, after six out of seven had been drowned before their eyes, still volunteered to fill their place.

There was some gentleman who addressed us to-day, who referred to Matthew Arnold's "Alternative of Culture or

Anarchy." I wonder if men like those who volunteered are what he meant by the "cultured class," who are to preserve us from anarchy? "Culture" is another word I don't like very much, still if that is what it means, if it is that thing, I would prefer another name; but if you mean by culture a sense of duty; if you mean that frame of mind in which a man considers consequences to himself or others so far as it is needful to determine what is right, but when he has settled that question then puts all consequences, whatever they are, once and forever behind him, and feels that he has nothing more to say or to think but only something to do;—if that is the kind of "culture" that will be produced by the kind of "education" that you have in mind, why then let us welcome that education and let us trust to that form of culture. (Applause).

You perhaps remember the words of General Picton to his men when he said, "Come on, you drunken, pilfering scoundrels," prefacing his command with an expletive not connected with the "tinker's dam" that General Butler used to mention. These men, and they probably deserved their commander's epithet, could hardly be called "cultured;" that is not the name which would have been readily given to them, and yet they came on. (Laughter and applause). They were wanting in many things; they were not model men, but they knew what was the one thing needed to be done then and there and they did it, and that, ladies and gentlemen, is what true reformers have to learn and have to do. (Applause).

THE SEPARATION OF MUNICIPAL FROM NATIONAL POLITICS.

BY MOOREFIELD STOREY, BOSTON, MASS.

At this late hour, and after a Municipal Convention which has lasted two days, the first thing you can fairly require of a speaker is that he shall speak to the point, and I will endeavor in what I say to comply with that rule.

There is one proposition upon which I believe that the Municipal Convention has unanimously agreed, and that is that the government of almost every American city is bad. We are told by one distinguished authority, who had travelled all over Europe, that he had visited every city from Budha Pesth to Liverpool, and found not one that was not better governed than the very best of American cities. We, pre-eminently, as we call ourselves a business people, the inventors as we are apt to think of self-government, are obliged to confess that when we undertake to apply our business principles to that form of self-government which comes closest to us, we cannot compete with what we sometimes call "the effete monarchies of the Old World." Not a very laudable confession. Why is it so?

Perhaps the reason is best expressed in what I fancy every one of you has heard in one or another form of language, "Well, it does not make very much difference. We get along tolerably well. The government does not trouble us. It is not worth our while to turn from what is more agreeable and devote our time to the government of the city. It is not worth the trouble. City government doesn't come very near us."

There is a form of politics in which we all take a great interest, which we call National Politics. Once in every four years, and in a less degree, every two years, we turn our country upside down, we spend our money, we lose our tempers regularly almost every day for two or three months,

we discuss national questions *pro* and *con* incessantly. As I came to the Convention yesterday I saw upon a poster at a neighboring theatre that the Hon. J. S. Stevens was going to address the people on the subject of the Sandwich Islands. Those who wanted to be sure of seats were expected to pay seventy-five cents or one dollar, while only fifty cents was charged to those who would take their chances. This would seem to indicate that even between the national elections we still take a great interest in National Politics. The affairs of Hawaii have occupied the attention of the President, Cabinet, both Houses of Congress and the newspapers, for something like six weeks, to put it mildly. We ourselves have taken vigorous sides, not so much according to our knowledge of the question, as according to our views on the subject of the Tariff. I do not mean to say that the question is not important. It *is* important that the United States in dealing with foreign nations should observe the strictest rules of justice, and in dealing with the weakest of our neighbors we should be peculiarly careful not to do anything of which a strong neighbor could complain if it were done to her. (Applause).

Yet if the Sandwich Islands were the subject of a revolution to-morrow, which killed off half the population, if they were annexed to this country, if they were sunk in the ocean, and the fact were carefully kept out of the newspapers, no citizen of Philadelphia would ever find it out. Your daily life would go on, your business would go on, your pleasure, income and expenditure would be alike unaffected. Is that true of municipal politics?

I suppose you will agree with me that your life, your health, your property and your education are important to you all. What does your life and health depend on in these days of bacteria and bacilli? It depends first on pure drinking water, and it is the city's business to see that the water is pure. In the next place on healthy food, and it is the business of your market inspector to see that no impure provisions find their way to your table. There is the milk on which the babies are fed, and it is the duty of

the milk inspector to see that no watered or unhealthy milk is sold.

If you invest your money in a dwelling-house, as I believe many in Philadelphia do to a larger extent than in other cities in the country, the safety of that house depends as to whether or not your neighbor erects a structure which will be a fire trap. In the same way, if you invest in a building in the business part of the city, the enforcement of the building laws and an efficient Fire Department depends on your municipal government.

If your children go to the public school or to the private school, and there meet some child who comes from a house where diphtheria or scarlet fever is raging, your children may be infected and bring home disease which will carry off your whole family. The enforcement of precautions against the spread of contagious disease is the province of municipal authorities.

When you go to your bed at night you want to sleep undisturbed, and you want a strong police force to protect you, and that is within the municipal province.

The education of your children largely depends on the school, and that again is municipal government.

Eating, drinking, waking, sleeping, in the theatre, in the school, on the street, your health, your life, your safety, your property depend on efficient municipal government. Are you not interested in all these things? Why, if you are interested, do you not have efficient government?

Again, let me repeat one of the common questions which the average citizen asks when bad government is forced upon his attention, "Why don't the people whose business it is look after these things?" and I ask you the question "why don't the people whose business it is to look after these things, attend to it?" Who are they? The ladies and gentlemen I see before me are the people. Every man has the same rights, the same duties, the same responsibilities. The richer, the abler, the better qualified to take part, the greater his responsibilities. "To whom much is given, of him shall much be required." It is idle for a man who lives

at No. 50 Locust Street to say that the business must be done by a man who lives at No. 51. The responsibility is on you all, and there is not a man or woman who has a right to shirk his or her share, or to say that anybody else must do the work which he or she declines to do.

Let us suppose that we have reached the point where you recognize the fact that the bad citizen is the man whom we are in the habit of calling a good one, the man who can serve his city and will not; that he is the worst citizen we have. You have reached the point where you are willing to take a hand and do what you can. What is the first thing to do? The government of a city, as Mrs. Mumford said, is largely a question of housekeeping. So far as keeping the city clean, it is the same thing on a large scale. When it comes to constructing new works, new sewers, it is a matter of business, and very much the same business that is done by a railroad or other corporation when they construct new works.

I should like to ask the ladies who are charged with the duties of housekeeping, what is the first thing they do when they return from the country in the autumn and open the house again? Is it not to engage a cook? When you meet the candidates, is not the first question asked, "What do you know about cooking?" It certainly is not "What do you think about the Sandwich Islands?"

The merchant who engages an office boy and finds him sweeping out the office at ten in the morning and neglecting his duties, discharges him. He does not retain him because he finds him sound on the question of the Tariff.

Your object is to get for the particular work you want done somebody who understands that work, somebody trained to it in housekeeping or in business. Why not, when you have taken charge of your municipal business, apply the same rule? The first thing to do is to get good men to do the work. You must, however, bear in mind that a man may be so educated, trained and qualified as to be an ornament to the Supreme Bench of the United States, and yet make a bad policeman. A man may be qualified to prescribe for a bad nervous disorder, and yet not be able to inspect a sewer.

Therefore, the first thing to do is to apply the rule that you want a fit man. If you are going to bore a hole and send to a hardware store, you don't simply tell the servant to get a tool. You ask for a gimlet; you are not satisfied with an adze, saw or plane. When you are cutting down a tree you want an axe and nothing else. A man is nothing but a tool. We often say that a man is out of place because he is a round peg in a square hole. The principal thing is to put square men in square holes. This, if I am not mistaken, is simply common sense.

If you want to have your sewers well constructed get somebody who understands the business. If you want your schools well taught you want competent, well-trained school teachers. If you want good policemen you select men partly with regard to their education, and partly with regard to their muscle. What system do you regularly adopt? Certainly not that. If the average voter were to confess in English the course of reasoning by which he is governed, it would be something like this: "I joined the Republican party in 1856 for the purpose of preventing the extension of slavery into the territories. To be sure that is done,—we fought the war and freed the slaves; but if the question arises, who shall be mayor of Philadelphia, I shall vote for the Republican candidate because of the glories of Sumter or Lincoln." It seems to me that we are so busy freeing the slave, restoring the Union, and fighting the war, that we have no time to do the business which is right under our noses. (Applause).

Is that reason? Is that common sense? The opposite course is simply to say, "We who live in the same city want clean streets, we want good sewers, we want efficient building laws, a good Fire Department and good police. Let us make a party and see if we cannot get these things." Men may differ so far that one may think twenty cents per ton a sufficient duty on a certain article, while another wants twenty-five cents, but they may equally dislike to be burned out of house and home in the middle of the night. Why insist that they won't elect any man as head of the Fire Department

unless he agrees with them as to the proper duty on him? It is difficult, gentlemen, seriously to discuss it, yet we, such an intelligent people as we call ourselves, go on year after year and determine who shall build our sewers without the least regard to his ability; by discussing issues settled twenty years ago, and as far from the sewers of Philadelphia as they are from the mountains of the moon.

You have perhaps reached the point of agreeing that you want a fit man, and you go to the man and ask him to serve you. On one hand there is the Pennsylvania Railroad or some other corporation, which says to the man you have selected, "Come to us and we will give you a very good salary and a permanent position. We will give you a board of directors, competent to assist you at any time, and you shall stay there and be happy as long as you live and do well."

On the other hand, you say "Come to us, and you shall begin by making a very handsome contribution to the campaign fund. You will be out of pocket at the outset, though if elected you may get your money back. In the next place, you must deal with some very practical men, who will insist upon knowing what you propose to do for them. They are 'bosses,' not men who are put off with vague sentiments, but who want something quite distinct."

If that gauntlet is run you are nominated, and then every sin that you have ever committed, and many that you did not commit, are spread before your neighbors in the papers every morning for three months. If you pass this ordeal and are elected, every good citizen stands ready to kick you if you make any mistake, but never to afford you the least assistance. All the bad citizens will come and beleaguer your office from the time you come in the morning until you go home at night, and all the time there is not a single good citizen to hold up your hands, and if, in your weakness, you put some incompetent person in an important position, the next morning the papers will blaze with your failure.

Then will come another election, and out you will go and somebody else will come in. This, if you tell the truth, is your attractive prospectus.

Do you really think, sensible business men and women of Philadelphia, that you ought to get this candidate away from the Pennsylvania Railroad? Can you really expect a man to sacrifice himself in that way, and turn his back on the permanent position that is offered him? If you really do expect it, I can only say you are destined to experience the most bitter disappointment. What then are you going to do?

Men enter the political field for three reasons: Money, honor, and a sense of duty. You do not offer money. In our part of the country, at least, we do not offer very much. I do not know how it would be here. There is not much honor in holding office to-day, and there is only left the sense of duty. No man's sense of duty, if he is a high minded man, induces him to seek the office for the purpose of forcing himself upon the reluctant body of his fellow citizens.

Is it surprising that you do not get first rate men in your municipal service?

Sensible business men can find a remedy for the evil if they will only take the trouble.

It does not require a large salary but a man must understand that his tenure is secure. You who want good service owe it to yourselves as you owe it to them to say, "We will see that our competent servants are retained in office. You can remain here as long as you do your work well, and you shall have fair pay." To accomplish this you must organize for the purpose. Your own good sense will do the rest.

Municipal government affects the most vital interests you have. If you do not realize the fact that a little care on your part, a little organization, a little forgetting of what happened twenty-five years ago, a little forgetting of the glories of the Republican party, and remembering the present flagrantcy of your municipal government is essential, I am fearful of the results.

PRACTICAL WORK IN POLITICS

BY HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, WASHINGTON

There are two gospels I always want to preach to you, whether they are working for civil service reform, for municipal reform, or for any other reform. The first is the gospel of morality; the next is the gospel of efficiency. A body like this I do not think I have to dwell on the necessity of being straight and decent, for of course every man must try to render disinterested, honest service to his community if he has the least claim to be called a citizen. But I know you don't need to have me dwell on this side of the question. You come here representing men who sincerely wish to see our municipal government purified, to see our public officials elected because they are likely to render honest service to the community, and our whole political life conducted in accordance with the highest standards of morality.

I don't have to tell you to be upright, but I do have to tell you to be practical and efficient. When I say practical I don't mean that you have got to connive at doing or submit to it; on the contrary, I believe the most practical of politicians is the most honest, and in the long run the politics of fraud and treachery and foulness are unpractical politics. But I do mean that you have got to face facts as they are; that, while setting a high standard, you have yet got to realize that there are very many men whose standard is not so high, and you must strive to get out from these men the best that is in them, even though it is not the absolute best. In dealing with men whose standards are not as high as they ought to be (though this condemnation is often necessary) you must be careful not to encourage men whose standards are still lower. It is sometimes necessary to help the best by over-

the good, even though it produce the temporary triumph of the bad ; but such action must always be regarded as exceptional ; to follow it out as a steady policy is an infallible method of working evil to the community.

Two points in especial bear in mind : be actors, and not merely critics of others, in the first place, and in the second, do not try to accomplish anything at the very beginning, and then because you fail abandon the effort to accomplish anything.

As to the first point, criticism is a very good thing, but work is a much better one. It is not the man who sits at home in his parlor, the man who reads his evening paper before the fire and says how bad our politicians are, who ever works an improvement in our municipal government. It is the man who goes out to the primaries and the polls, who attends the meetings of his party organizations, if he is a party man, or who gets up effective independent organizations if he is not a party man, the man who wins in actual hard fighting and who is not afraid of the blood and sweat—he is the man who deserves our gratitude ; he is the man upon whom we must ultimately rely for results. Meetings like this, where all of us who believe alike get together, talk with one another, and learn to see the situation as it is, and try to plan methods for making it better, serve an admirable purpose, too ; but the real battle must be fought out on other and less pleasant fields. In the end the work has got to be done by actual, hard, stubborn, long-continued service in the field of practical politics itself. You have got to go out and meet not merely the men who think like you, but the men who think differently from you. You have got to try to win them to your side by argument ; to try to beat them and overthrow them, and drive them from the field if you can't win them by argument. You may as well make up your mind at the beginning that when you thus go into practical politics you will make some mistakes, and you will be criticised by those who don't go in ; but you may make up your mind also that in no other way can you ever achieve anything, and that the crown must finally be awarded, not

to the man who says how poorly others have done the work, but to the man who actually does the work, even though he does it imperfectly and with many shortcomings.

Again, don't try to begin by reforming the whole world. Prove yourself to be a tolerably efficient under-officer before you aspire to the work of the commander-in-chief. Of course from the outset you must take an interest in the great problems of state and national legislation, no less than of municipal; but this must not be all. Go into your own assembly district, try to find out the men who think as you do, and whom you can spur into taking some kind of an active part; then, whether you are a Republican like myself, a Democrat like my friend here, or an Independent like my friend there, try to get your fellows to organize with you and to organize on a basis of desire for clean, decent government. Become thoroughly familiar with the work of the different machines in your district, with the work gone through in nominating candidates, no less than in preparing for the actual battle at the polls. Try to make your influence felt on your local representative, whether a councilman, alderman, or any other official. Make yourself a power. Teach the politicians, and by degrees teach the people too, that you are not only disinterested, but that you are efficient also; that you are striving for the right, and that when you hit you hit to some purpose.

In carrying on your battle for decency remember one thing: if you are to win you must win by being straight out Americans, and by conducting your campaign in the regular American spirit. If you try to organize your movement on any line of caste, on any line of birthplace or of creed, you will be beaten, and you will deserve to be beaten. Go into our politics simply as Americans. Work heartily with the man in whose ideas you believe and who believes in your ideas, without any reference to whether he is a Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant, whether he was born here or abroad, whether he is a banker or a butcher, a professor or a hod-carrier, a railway president or the owner of a corner store; in short, act as Americans, and as nothing else.

In conclusion, one thing: Don't forget that while you must cultivate all the softer virtues, yet that you will cease to be men if you fail to cultivate the stronger virtues likewise. You must be disinterested, unselfish, upright; but you must also be sincere and resolute and courageous, morally and physically, able to take punishment without flinching, and to give punishment in turn when the time and the need arise. Above all, remember that there is nothing more contemptible than to flinch from a task because you find it disagreeable, or because at first you fail to achieve the success that you think you should. If you find that at first you are powerless, that your efforts for a month or two or a year or two fail to result in anything, then it is merely your duty to redouble your efforts, and, if necessary, to try to change and improve your methods. If you find that the people with whom you are thrown in contact in political life have low moral ideals, and are coarse and disagreeable, and yet too often are triumphant, why, instead of flinching from them, remember that if you are men you will stand up all the stouter in your battle. If you wish to accomplish anything in the field of municipal reform you must be upright and disinterested; you must be practical and willing to work hard, and not merely criticise; you must be Americans through and through, in temper and spirit and heart, and you must possess the essential virtues of manliness, of resolution, and of indomitable courage.

BRIEF STATEMENTS
CONCERNING THE OBJECTS AND METHODS OF
MUNICIPAL REFORM ORGANIZATIONS
IN THE
UNITED STATES.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

James C. Carter, Esq., Chairman of the Conference for Good City Government, in accordance with the authority vested in him by resolution (page 18), appointed Herbert Welsh and Charles Richardson, of Philadelphia, Charles J. Bonaparte, of Baltimore, Franklin MacVeagh, of Chicago, Moorfield Storey, of Boston, James W. Prior and W. Harris Roome, of New York, a committee to prepare a plan for the organization of a National Municipal League. This Committee, to which Mr. Carter was added by special resolution (page 39), prepared the following Constitution, which has been submitted to certain associations for their approval. When a sufficient number have approved the same and appointed delegates, the Committee are authorized to declare "the proposed League organized and prepared to enter upon its work."

CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

The objects of the National Municipal League shall be as follows :—

First. To multiply the numbers, harmonize the methods, and combine the forces of all who realize that it is only by united action and organization that good citizens can secure the adoption of good laws and the selection of men of trained ability and proved integrity for all municipal positions, or prevent the success of incompetent or corrupt candidates for public office.

Second. To promote the thorough investigation and discussion of the conditions and details of civic administration, and of the methods for selecting and appointing officials in American cities, and of laws and ordinances relating to such subjects.

Third. To provide for such meetings and conferences and for the preparation and circulation of such addresses and other literature as may seem likely to advance the cause of Good City Government.

The League shall be composed of Associations formed in cities of the United States and having as an object the improvement of Municipal Government. It shall have no connection with State or National parties or issues, and shall confine itself strictly to Municipal affairs. Any Association belonging to the League may withdraw at any time.

The League shall be managed by a Board of Delegates chosen by the Associations composing it. Each Association shall be entitled to appoint from time to time as many delegates as it may see fit, and each delegate shall retain his position until he is withdrawn or his successor is qualified or his association becomes inactive.

Whenever a delegate shall demand a vote by Associations on any question the vote shall be so taken, and the vote of each Association shall be cast according to the preference of the majority of its delegates then present.

Additional Associations may be admitted to membership at any time by the Board of Delegates. The said Board shall also have the power to terminate the membership of any Association at any time by a vote representing three-fourths of the Associations then belonging to the League.

The Board of Delegates shall have power to decide upon the qualifications of its members, to appoint all necessary officers and employes, and to raise funds for all proper expenses, but there shall be no dues or assessments, and no Association shall be liable for any sums except such as it may from time to time voluntarily agree to contribute.

The Board may delegate any of its powers to such committees as it may think proper.

In all cases in the Board and in Committees, members unable to be present may offer resolutions or vote either by mail or by proxy.

The Board of Delegates may, in their discretion and upon

such terms and conditions as they approve, admit individuals as associate members of the League, but such associate memberships shall not confer the right to vote or in any way act for the League.

The Board of Delegates shall have power to make and alter By-Laws provided they do not conflict with the Constitution.

This Constitution may be amended at any time by the votes of delegates representing three-fourths of the Associations then belonging to the League.

ADVANCE CLUB OF PROVIDENCE, R. I.

This Club was "organized to promote the business and material interests of the city of Providence, to cultivate a broad and liberal public spirit among its citizens, and to assist in the cause of education, particularly in the lines of industrial pursuits.

"The Club proposes, among other things, to devote itself to the work of encouraging new business enterprises in our city, to extending its foreign and domestic trade, to promoting public improvements and sanitary measures."

The Club can pass no resolution endorsing any individual for a political office, nor can any action of the Club, either through its Executive Committee or in general meeting, be understood to bind or pledge the individual members of the Club as to their political or other action.

The Club has committees on Water, Sewerage, Sanitary Conditions, Parks, Public Buildings, Highways, and Municipal Reform. It has issued the following pamphlets :—

- No. 1. Address by President David M. Thompson, delivered February 4, 1891.
- No. 2. "Taxation." J. Lippitt Snow, 1891.
- No. 3. "The Crisis," an address by President David M. Thompson, delivered March 14, 1891.
- No. 4. "The Commercial Advantages of Providence." Joseph A. Miller. 1891.
- No. 5. "Projects of Municipal Reform." Rathbone Gardner. 1891.
- No. 6. "Souvenir of the Banquet," May 9, 1891, with the addresses of D. M. Thompson, Sylvester Baxter, and Charles Eliot.
- No. 7. "Parks and Tree-lined Avenues." Augustine Jones. 1891.
- No. 8. "Street Railways." 1891.
- No. 10. "An Ample Supply of Pure Water a Public Necessity."

Leaflet No. 1. "Significant Comparisons of the Cost of Light." Sylvester Baxter. 1891.

Leaflet No. 2. "How should the City of Providence be Lighted. 1891.

Leaflet No. 3. "How should the City of Providence be Lighted." J. Lippitt Snow. 1891.

The Club maintains Club Rooms and has sixty members. Its officers are: President, Hiram Howard; First Vice-President, Charles H. George; Second Vice-President, Charles Fletcher; Third Vice-President, Wm. Corliss; Secretary, Samuel W. Kilvert; Treasurer, Joseph C. Johnson; Chairman of Executive Committee, Joseph A. Miller.

The Club was organized in April, 1890; incorporated April 21, 1892. The initiation fee is \$10 and the annual dues, \$25; additional assessments for specific purposes are levied.

BALTIMORE REFORM LEAGUE.

The League was organized, in 1885, "to secure fair elections, promote honest government and expose and bring to punishment official misconduct in the state of Maryland, and especially in the city of Baltimore. It will adopt all legitimate and honorable means to effect these ends, and will strive to organize affiliated associations with analogous aims in the various counties of the state." Any legal voter of Maryland is eligible to membership. Acceptance of any public office of profit, or of a political character, or of a nomination for any such office by an officer of the League, shall work vacation of his office. The membership fee is one dollar per annum.

The By-laws provide for the organization in each Ward of Ward Clubs, to discharge such duties as may be assigned to them by the League.

The League has been active in the prosecution of election offenders, in drafting and urging upon the Legislature improved registration and election laws, and in the exposure of the character and records of unworthy appointees and candidates for public office.

The officers are: President, S. Teackle Wallis; Secretary, Charles Morris Howard; Chairman of Executive Committee, Charles J. Bonaparte.

BELOIT (WIS.) CIVIC CLUB.

This Club was organized in December, 1892, to promote the civic welfare of Beloit, to study and to better in every wise way the common conditions of the public weal, including (a) civic improvement and economy; (b) education and recreation; (c) relief and work; (d) order and law; (e) civic office and duty; sanitation and health. Its "methods shall be through papers, reports, discussion, resolutions, public meetings, the press, committees and the personal efforts of its members."

Its membership is limited to 70.

The officers are: President, A. W. Burr; Vice-Presidents, Rev. W. W. Sleeper, E. P. Salmon; Secretary and Treasurer, E. S. Greene.

BOSTON MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

This organization was formally and permanently organized February 21, 1894. Its objects are: To discuss and shape public opinion upon all questions which relate to the proper government of our cities; to separate municipal politics from those of the state and nation; to secure the nomination and election of men to municipal office solely with reference to their fitness for the office; and to federate for this purpose the moral forces of the city.

The League is to be absolutely non-partisan, recognizing no differences of race or creed, but all having sympathy with its purposes are alike eligible for membership. In order to keep in close touch with the moral sentiment in the community, preference in membership is given to members of existing religious, civic, philanthropic, business and labor organizations. The constitution provides that no organization shall be entitled to more than seven members, and no organization can have more than one member upon either the executive or membership committee, and there shall be at least two new members chosen upon the executive and membership committees each year. Its membership, for the present, has been limited to 200.

The officers of the League are: President, Samuel B. Capen; Vice-Presidents, Robert Treat Paine, Francis A. Osborn, Thomas B. Fitzpatrick, George H. Quincy, Jacob H. Hecht; Secretary, Edwin D. Mead; Treasurer, Arthur B. Ellis.

CHAMPAIGN (ILL.) MUNICIPAL ASSOCIATION.

This Association was organized in the spring of 1893, with the principal object of promoting interest in municipal affairs. It aims "to encourage and foster a good moral tone, uphold correct business principles, promote hygiene, and interest itself in proper methods of education. It shall encourage the execution of the laws, uphold the officials in the performance of their duties, and recommend and urge the passage of such ordinances, rules and laws as are a public benefit."

The Association believes that, "as a rule, better municipal government will be secured by proper encouragement of the officials in the enforcement of laws than by distinctive organizations for that purpose; also that municipal affairs should be conducted in accordance with honest business methods, keeping in mind also the health and morals of the citizens; and that national issues as such should not control city elections."

The Association has the support of the local press and its influence is rapidly growing. Its meetings are held in the different churches. Officers: President, J. W. Davidson; Vice-President, R. R. Mattis; Treasurer, F. H. Lloyde; Secretary, Daniel Kilham Dodge.

CINCINNATI, OHIO.

In the autumn of 1883 a number of citizens of Cincinnati, without regard to party, organized under the name of the Municipal Reform Association, and for two or three years thereafter endeavored to bring about an improvement in the city government. As must always be the fate of such movements, when pitted against those who have the official patronage at their disposal, the reformers lost heart, and having accomplished but little the organization was abandoned in 1886, but was revived again in 1888 during one municipal campaign.

This association was the most thoroughly organized of any attempt at municipal reform which has been made in Cincinnati during late years. There have been other efforts in the same direction, ephemeral and spasmodic, however.

The oldest and most influential social organization in Cincinnati is "The Literary Club," which was organized in 1849.

Before this Club the following papers dealing with the subject of municipal reform have been read :—

November 20, 1875, "Municipal Government," by Judge H. D. Peck ; May 5, 1883, "Municipal Reform," by Judge Alfred Yaple ; June 9, 1888, "The Proposed New Form of City Government," by Frank M. Coppock, Esq., formerly City Solicitor ; May 25, 1889, "Municipal Reform Within Party Lines," by Judge Wm. H. Taft, of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals ; November 2, 1889, "Civil Service Reform—The Solution of the Problem of Municipal Government," by Charles B. Wilby, Esq. ; December 21, 1889, "Municipal Government," by Stephen H. Wilder, one of the proprietors of the Cincinnati *Tribune*.

CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION OF ALBANY, N. Y.

This Association was organized in 1880 by the taxpayers residing in the city and county of Albany, "to cause a supervision to be kept over all municipal affairs and over the expenditures made or contemplated by the county officers ; to cause an investigation to be made of claims presented and demands made for payments from the public moneys," and to expose and oppose all such as are unauthorized, illegal or fraudulent by publication, and legal proceedings, if necessary ; to supervise public work, "and where the same is not in accordance with the contract therefor, to prevent any payment being made for such work ;" also to procure the enactment of such legislation as will prevent mismanagement and secure to the tax-payers such safeguards and checks over expenditures and public work as will effectually secure them in their rights.

The Association "shall not favor, advocate or assist in the nomination or election of any person to a city or county office, nor shall it use its influence to prevent such nomination or election."

A "Committee of Thirteen" is charged with the entire management of the Association, and has full power and authority to carry into effect the purposes of its organization. This Committee is chosen annually and its officers are the officers of the Association.

Every member of the Association pays an annual fee of \$25,

if he is assessed, for the purposes of taxation, for real or personal property or both, in the county of Albany, to the amount of \$25,000 or over, and an annual fee of \$10, if he is so assessed for \$10,000 or over, and less than \$25,000 and an annual fee of \$5, if he is so assessed for less than \$10,000. Each member of the Committee of Thirteen is, in addition if necessary, liable to contribute in the like proportion, to the expenses incurred in prosecuting the work of the Association, and to all payments and obligations necessitated by or arising out of the carrying on of the same.

The eleven annual reports thus far issued give in detail the extensive work carried on and the beneficial results accomplished.

There are two vacancies on the present Committee of Thirteen, which is composed of Wm. M. Van Antwerp, C. P. Williams, J. W. McNamara, Grange Sard, Matthew Hale, J. Howard King, David A. Thompson, Marcus T. Hun, Dean Sage, Peter Kinnear, Abraham V. DeWitt. The officers of the Association are: President, J. Howard King; Secretary and Treasurer, David A. Thompson; Counsel, James Fenimore Cooper.

CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION OF BOSTON.

This Association was organized in December, 1887, by citizens belonging to the various political parties, who were actuated solely by a desire to improve the government of the city, the purpose to be "to promote an honest, efficient, and economical administration of municipal and county affairs, by inducing the citizens and taxpayers to take a more active and intelligent interest in such affairs, by furnishing an accurate and non-partisan account of the manner in which the city is governed, and of the conduct of the public servants, by encouraging faithful and exposing unfaithful performance of official duties, and by advocating legislation necessary or proper for securing its purpose; "to keep a careful watch over the expenditures of public money, the making and performance of contracts, the purchase of supplies and material, and the passage of measures by the City Council; to prevent illegal, fraudulent, or improper payments from the city or county treasury; to investigate alleged official misconduct, to bring to punishment all who may be parties to

such misconduct, and to ascertain and report any facts which, in the interest of good government, should be known by the citizens of Boston."

The Association cannot take partisan action in advancing the nomination or election of candidates for public office; but, in carrying out its purpose, may publish information relating to candidates, and may oppose the election of any candidate whose defeat may appear to be demanded by the public interest.

The Association now has about four hundred members, and its work is directed by an Executive Committee of Thirteen, aided by a General Committee of Thirty. It has been active in its efforts to secure a proper and business-like administration of city affairs; exposing corruption and misconduct, preventing unlawful or unnecessary expenditures, advocating desirable changes in laws and administration, aiding to adjust the relations of the city with street-using corporations, assisting in the solution of the problem of municipal transit, and generally endeavoring to represent the interests and give public expression to the sentiments of those citizens who have in view only the true welfare of the city. The Association publishes an annual report and has issued many other papers and documents, all of which can be obtained of the Secretary, Herbert Lee Harding, 89 State Street, Boston. The officers are: President, Causten Browne; Vice-Presidents, George G. Crocker, William Endicott, Jr., Francis A. Osborn, Moses Williams; Treasurer, Charles C. Jackson; Secretary, Herbert Lee Harding.

CITIZEN'S ASSOCIATION OF BUFFALO, N. Y.

The object of this Association (organized about five years ago) "is to secure a decent and cheap administration of the affairs of the city of Buffalo, and to scrutinize all proposed legislation at Albany, to the end that needed reforms may be promoted and political jobs affecting the city prevented. Its cardinal principle is home rule."

Its methods are like those of the town meeting. It is called together at any time by the president, on a notice published in the papers, stating the object of the meeting, and its actions are usually governed by committees, either standing or appointed at

these meetings, which report through the public press. If the report meets the approval of a large majority of the Association, it is allowed to stand ; if not, a meeting is called for public discussion.

Any citizen of Buffalo who chooses to come to its meetings or to discuss through the press propositions affecting the city, is considered a member of the Association. Its membership may, therefore, be said to be coterminous with the voting population of the city of Buffalo.

The revised charter of the city of Buffalo, passed in 1891 against the most strenuous efforts of local and state politicians, is its greatest accomplishment,—unless it be thought that the creation of public sentiment against the dastardly attempt of Lieut.-Governor Sheehan last year practically to nullify that Charter, and the result last fall in the tremendous majority against Sheehan, with the resultant restoration of the Charter by the present legislature, be considered an equal achievement.

The bulk of its work is done by a Committee on Law and Legislation, composed of Ansley Wilcox, chairman, George Clinton, John G. Milburn, Tracy C. Becker, Herbert P. Bissell, John N. Scatcherd, John Cunneen, Philip A. Laing and William H. Hotchkiss. The President is Gen. John C. Graves.

CITIZENS' ASSOCIATION OF CHICAGO.

This Association was organized in 1874 "to insure a more perfect administration in our municipal affairs, to promote the general welfare and prosperity of the city ; to protect citizens, so far as possible, against the evils of careless or corrupt legislation ; to effect the prompt enforcement and execution of the law ; to foster and encourage all enterprises necessary and calculated to develop and extend our commercial interests ; to arouse a more widely extended interest in our municipal legislation and administration ; to correct existing abuses, and to prevent their future occurrence."

Membership in the Association is limited to voting tax-payers of Chicago : no test as to creed, religion, politics or nationality is imposed. The work of the Association is laid out and done under the supervision of the Executive Committee. It has no affiliation with or preference for any political party or faction.

The Association has a long record of accomplished reforms, and issues a Manual setting forth the methods and an account of measures initiated, helped and assisted during its existence.

The officers are: President, Hon. I. K. Boyesen; Vice-President, Francis Beidler; Treasurer, George Schneider; Secretary, J. C. Ambler.

CITIZENS' MUNICIPAL ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA.

This Association, organized April 20, 1886, and incorporated April 30, 1887, has for its purposes: "To sustain the constituted authorities in a faithful administration of the public service; to secure a strict fulfilment, by public officers, employees and contractors, of all their obligations to the city and to the citizens and to promote such legislation as shall be most conducive to the public welfare."

The Association is pledged to take no part in nominations and elections to public office. It has labored earnestly to promote the welfare of the city and has been watchful of its interests. Its seven annual reports give in detail the large amount of excellent work accomplished.

Its officers are: Chairman, Joel J. Bailey; Vice-Chairman, Francis B. Reeves; Secretary, George Burnham, Jr.; Treasurer, Robert R. Corson.

CITIZENS' LEAGUE OF CAMDEN, N. J.

This League, organized in the Spring of 1893, has for its object the betterment of city government in Camden, and was the outgrowth of a Law and Order Society and a general sense of dissatisfaction with an extremely bad case of municipal misgovernment. It adopts those methods which at the time seem best suited to bring success, without any sacrifice of honor.

Its efforts have thus far been directed toward securing the nomination of men of first-rate ability by the regular parties, and in the campaign in the Fall of 1893, it was successful in compelling a higher grade of nominations, not generally acceptable to the corrupt politicians, but accepted by the latter because of the attitude of the League. During this campaign the League dis-

tributed large numbers of a four-page paper entitled "The Citizens' League," to advocate the election of the candidates meeting its approval.

The officers are :—President, Luther H. Kellam ; Secretary, Henry Hollinshead, Jr. ; Treasurer, Joseph S. Middleton.

CITIZEN'S MUNICIPAL LEAGUE OF BRIDGETON, N. J.

This League was organized in January, 1894, "to encourage and assist the constituted authorities in maintaining law and order, and to promote the nomination and election to municipal offices of the men best qualified to serve the city, without regard to their party politics." The League will undertake, in its organized capacity, "to influence the nomination and election of candidates for municipal office whenever the Executive Committee shall determine * * * * that such action is advisable."

So far the League has dealt only with violations of the Excise Law, and marked success has attended its work, but its existence has had a substantial moral influence upon municipal affairs.

The officers are ; President, C. W. Shoemaker ; Vice-Presidents, H. K. Trask, Wm. Jerrel ; Secretary, Ed. M. Fithian ; Treasurer, George B. M. Schiller.

CITIZENS' AND TAXPAYERS' COMMITTEE OF SIOUX CITY, IOWA.

This Committee was organized last Fall "to secure the best men available for city and county offices, irrespective of politics ; to secure, as far as possible, a judicious expenditure of public money ; and to take whatever steps are necessary to secure an efficient and economical administration in municipal and county affairs. The Committee further urge all good citizens to attend the primaries of their respective parties, and exert their influence to procure the best possible candidates for office."

The membership fee is \$1 per year, and all citizens of Sioux City and Woodbury County are eligible. The officers are : President, George Weare ; Secretary, Frank M. Ferris. The Committee has nearly 360 members.

CITY CLUB OF NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.

The City Club of New Brunswick, designed to secure good government in that city, has just been established. The Club declares itself for the enforcement of the absolute separation of local politics from National and State politics ; constant effort to secure for New Brunswick the most improved system of taxes, street paving, lighting, water, drainage, schools, transit and all other public necessities and conveniences ; the nomination or indorsement of such candidates only as are in sympathy with the principle of absolute separation of local from State and National politics ; to advance in every possible way the material growth of the municipality, and to stimulate the spirit of progress in the citizens of New Brunswick. The affairs of the Club will be in charge of a Board of Managers, to be elected from among a body of sustaining members, who pay \$10 annual dues. Any voter in the city can become a member by signing the declaration of principles. The circular of the Club, just issued, invites the co-operation of all voters who "esteem citizenship above partisanship."

CITY CLUB OF NEW YORK.

The objects of this organization can be best explained by adopting the words of their last annual report :

"Those who have not taken part in the discussions which have resulted in the formation of this Club have, from time to time, inquired for a more particularly defined statement of its purposes than that contained in the act of incorporation. Concerning this, the organizers of the Club make the following statement of what they have in mind :—

"This club does not present itself to the community as a compendium of wisdom, an exemplar of virtue, or an ordained critic. It presents itself as an organization of self-respecting citizens, who desire to maintain their self-respect, and, at the same time, to remain active citizens, with all that this truly implies. It exists to assist in the study of honest, efficient municipal government. It exists to learn, and to apply such learning as its members have or can acquire in the administration of their duties as citizens of a municipality. It is not organized

in opposition to or in league with any political party or faction. It is not organized to promote any national party, or any national or state measure, or with the expectation of converting all opponents to its views on any matter of national or state concern, about which there may exist an honest, intelligent difference of opinion. It is incorporated in the hope that it may be useful in shaping and maintaining a generally entertained public opinion vigilantly opposed to dishonesty and incompetency in municipal government ; in rendering contemptible that indifference to civic duty, or insensibility of conscience, which permits citizens to overlook maladministration of office until it becomes so unendurable as to make opposition easier than submission ; in encouraging that proper pride of citizenship which exists only with duty done and proper results accomplished ; in reminding the unobservant citizen of duty neglected ; and, generally, in providing a permanent organization which, with its auxiliaries, will enable the citizens of New York to act promptly and effectively when the public interests require their action, and which will afford a rendezvous for good citizens while preparing for action.

"If there should ever exist such a condition of public sentiment as would continuously make fitness for office in this city the test of party nominations, this club would be chiefly occupied with questions of administration. But so long as office is regarded as the earned reward of the energetic, even though unscrupulous, "worker" in politics, so long as office is sought and bestowed because of its emoluments, and not because of the distinguished fitness of the nominee, so long, in the opinion of the founders of this Club, the municipal government of this city is not likely to be honestly and efficiently conducted if left to the nominees of either political party uncontrolled by local opinion and interest, and so long a body of citizens permanently organized, with higher aims than the gratification of political ambition, will be of use in affecting the quality of nominations. Therefore, it will be one of the aims of this Club to procure the nomination and election of city office-holders whose recommendation shall not be solely nor mainly that they are faithful servants of either political party, but that they are fit for the positions to which they are elected. Thus it is hoped that in time this test of fitness will come to be generally regarded as of much higher importance in municipal affairs than the test of loyalty to party,

and that, in this sense, and to this extent, municipal politics here may be severed from national and state politics with appreciably beneficial results. If the national parties nominate for municipal offices candidates whose loyalty to the city and its citizens is paramount to their loyalty to their political party, and who are honest and capable men, this Club will be to that extent content. But if nominations shall be made upon the other principle of rewarding party service, then this Club will not be content, and will use its influence to nominate and elect fit candidates, instead of merely political candidates.

'As a Club, this Club is not intended to be anti-Democratic or anti-Republican, but to be persistently, consistently, and impartially anti-bad-city-government, and nothing else. It has nothing to do with Tammany as such, nor with the Republican machine as such ; but it has to do with the administrators of our city government as such, whoever they may be, and with the law, system and methods under and in accordance with which, or in violation of which, that government is administered. It is expected that the Club will be alert to discern and ready to criticise and fight dishonesty and inefficiency in city affairs, in whatever party or organization they may appear. It is hoped that its primary usefulness will be educational, that it will be surrounded by a healthful and hopeful atmosphere, producing a perceptible good effect upon its members. It will welcome young men whose entrance to other social clubs may be delayed by long waiting lists or by technical requirements. Its aims will be to encourage in these young men the belief that they have civic duties to perform, and that the performance of these duties will be of positive and lasting use to them and to their fellow-citizens. Particularly, its aim will be to discourage and to dissipate the prevalent feeling that there is no remedy for existing municipal evils. In this connection the members of this Club propose to assist in the organization and perpetuation of other self-supporting clubs of a similar character, in different parts of the city, which shall serve as a centre of the social life of congenial members, and the aims of which shall be similar to those of this Club. A part of the business of the Club will be the study of proper methods of municipal government, and to that end, the collection and dissemination of such facts, historical and otherwise, and such ideas as its members think will aid the student of municipal problems. To encourage observance of law, to discourage its

infraction, and to formulate and adapt the law to the requirements of this community, this Club will hope to permanently enlist in its service experienced counsel. In short, its purpose will be to learn what is needed in good city government, to inculcate better principles of government, and to urge the recognition and acceptance of personal responsibility by citizens. The precise methods by which it will seek to accomplish these ends are to be determined as emergency and experience develop the opportunity for their intelligent determination."

The Club maintains a handsome club house on Fifth Avenue, the membership fee being \$50 per annum. It has nearly one thousand members. It maintains a publication bureau, and issues from time to time literature bearing on the question of municipal government and its reform, and has sustained a supervising interest over the various Good Government Clubs, as organized from time to time.

CITY IMPROVEMENT SOCIETY OF NEW YORK.

This Society was incorporated June 14, 1892, "To promote the improvement and beautifying of the city, and to assist and stimulate the authorities in enforcing the laws relating to such objects." It furnishes a medium whereby a citizen, having any complaint to make, can be assured that his complaint will be presented to the proper authorities, in the proper manner, and will be looked after and pushed until it is attended to.

Any person interested in the work can become a member, but he is asked to particularly watch one block for all failures to comply with the laws and ordinances, whether on the part of the authorities or the citizens, and report same to the officers of the Society.

The policy of the Society is aggressive but not antagonistic, and strictly non-partisan; its sole purpose is to make New York more healthful and attractive.

The Society has published two small pamphlets containing a large amount of useful information concerning municipal regulations.

Its officers are: President, Dr. F. Danne; Secretary, J. Collins Pumpelly; Treasurer, George Montague.

CITY REFORM CLUB OF NEW YORK.

This Club was organized about fifteen years ago, and has never been incorporated. For a number of years it was composed of several hundred people, but succeeded in doing very little work. After nearly all the men in the club had resigned, those who remained as members were put on the Executive Committee, which numbered about fifteen. The purposes were to publish an annual record of Assemblymen and Senators, circulated in large numbers about two or three weeks before election day in each year, also to preserve full newspaper articles as to actions of public men, and other documents. The Club also advocated reform legislation and prosecuted offenders against the law. It was really, during all those years, the only club in New York which concerned itself in an active way with municipal affairs. To its influence and work the present movement in New York City is largely due. Its members are now occupying official positions in the City Club and in the various Good Government clubs. The City Reform Club is still in existence, prepared to do work when necessary. It took the lead in the movement to repeal the law which provided for a speedway in Central Park, two years ago, which met with success; and in bringing about a repeal of a law passed in the same session of the Legislature, it achieved great success, for the reason that not in forty years has the Legislature been compelled to recognize public opinion and repeal a law at the same session at which it was enacted. The Club has nothing to do in any way with the nomination of candidates, and has always held aloof from matters of that sort. W. Harris Roome is President and Mr. R. A. Zerega, Secretary.

CITY VIGILANCE LEAGUE OF NEW YORK.

The aim and purposes of this League, as stated by its founder and President, Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, D. D., are: "Whatever concerns the interests of our city is made subject of inquiry and conference. The tendency among all our larger cities is to allow matters of municipal administration to drift into the hands of men who conceive of positions of official trust as means of

access to the public treasury. The fault is chargeable as well to those who permit this prostitution of power as to those who practice it. The League aims to counteract this tendency, and to stimulate, among young men especially, an intelligent and earnest civic consciousness, by giving to each member some line of investigation to prosecute, some field of duty to cover. In this way a great variety of questions have arisen for consideration, each of which tends to bring the 'Leaguer' into immediate relations with his city, and in that way to set him studying existing conditions as a means of improving these conditions. In one Assembly District, for example, the Sunday violation of excise laws is being observed and investigated; in another the 'sweating' problem; and in a third the truck and side-walk incumbrance nuisance. All of these questions are being considered in their bearings upon the interests of the city at large. The impression which widely prevailed for a time that the League is an organization of amateur detectives, has become pretty thoroughly dissipated. We are trying to bring into co-operant relations a great company of earnest young citizens who believe in inoculating foreign-born residents with American impulses; in encouraging every influence that will make for our municipal betterment; and in giving currency to the doctrine, that for city officials to impose taxes, and to drain off a considerable percentage of the proceeds of such an assessment into their own pockets, falls a good way short of the ideal of municipal government."

The League is working to establish Assembly District Leagues and already upwards of twenty such have been organized. The object of these subordinate Leagues is "to quicken among its members an appreciation of their municipal obligations, to acquaint them with existing conditions and the machinery of municipal government."

The League can not, under any circumstances, endorse any party or independent nomination for office.

The League has issued a number of valuable bulletins giving in detail the results of the investigations of the League; also a "Bibliography of Selected Sociological References," by Wm. Howe Tolman, Ph. D., and Wm. I. Hull, Ph. D. These same editors are preparing a "Hand-book of Sociological References Regarding New York City," which will shortly be issued.

The officers are: President, Rev. C. H. Parkhurst, D. D.; Secretary, Wm. Howe Tolman; Treasurer, Wm. M. Kingsley.

CIVIC CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA.

This Club was organized in January, 1894, by the ladies of the city "to promote by education and active co-operation a higher public spirit and a better social order."

For the better execution of its objects, the Club is divided into departments representing its different lines of work, namely, Municipal Government, Education, Social Science and Art.

The "duties of the department of Municipal Government shall be to examine into the aims and functions of municipal government, and into the practical workings of the municipal government of the City of Philadelphia, and from time to time to report upon the same and to suggest measures for its improvement, and to co-operate in carrying out such measures in relation thereto as may be approved by the Board of Directors."

The Club is managed by a President, four Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, and two Directors from each department, constituting the Board of Directors. The membership fee is \$3, and the initiation fee is \$5.

The Club holds frequent public meetings to discuss questions of current interest, and has already published "A Historical Sketch of the Public School System of Philadelphia," by Mrs. Mary E. Mumford; "The Relation of Women to Municipal Reform," Herbert Welsh; "The Civic Club," Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson.

The officers are: President, Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Joseph P. Mumford, Mrs. J. Dundas Lippincott, Mrs. Alfred Harrison, Mrs. Matthew Baird; Secretary, Miss Cornelia Frothingham, 2035 Walnut Street; Treasurer, Miss Mary Channing Wister.

CIVIC FEDERATION OF CHICAGO.

This organization, formed in February, 1894, has thus far provided for the following departments of work: municipal, philanthropic, educational, industrial, social, moral. A Committee on Political Action has been appointed to recommend to the Council of the Federation what non-partisan action it thinks the Federation should take to promote its objects.

The Federation is described as a "non-partisan, non-sectarian association, inviting the co-operation of all the forces that are

now laboring to advance the municipal, philanthropic, industrial and moral interests of Chicago."

The organization consists of a Board of Trustees, a General Council of 99, one-third retiring annually, Ward Councils of 50 members, and Precinct Councils. Properly recommended citizens who sign the Constitution are eligible to the latter body.

The officers are : President, Lyman J. Gage ; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Potter Palmer, John J. McGrath ; Secretary, Ralph M. Easley ; Treasurer, E. S. Dreyer ; Trustees, J. J. Linehan, M. J. Carroll, J. W. Harvey, L. C. Collins, Jane Addams, Ada C. Sweet, Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, Franklin MacVeagh, George E. Adams, E. B. Butler.

The Federation has prepared the following pledge for distribution and signature :—

"Believing that the selection of public officials is practically made at the preliminary caucuses and primary elections, I heroby pledge myself to take an active interest in and attend, when possible, all caucuses and primaries of my party, and I also pledge myself to work and vote only for delegates whom I believe, after investigation, to be honest, capable men. I further declare it to be my conviction that fitness for the position should be the only test for municipal office."

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ASSOCIATIONS.

The various local and state Civil Service Reform Associations throughout the country are rendering effective service in behalf of municipal reform, by insisting upon the vigorous observance of existing laws and ordinances, and by agitating for more extensive and vigorous applications of the principles of civil service reform to municipal affairs. Most of the municipal reform organizations have a civil service reform plank in their platforms.

CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Steps have been taken to organize a Municipal League or Federation in this city, and a committee charged with selecting a name and preparing a declaration of principles and by-laws has been appointed. An enthusiastic meeting in favor of the movement was held early in March. Rev. Hiram C. Haydn, Wilson

M. Day, Thomas L. Johnson, Rev. D. O. Mears and Rabbi Gries constitute the committee.

CLEVELAND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce has of late years taken great interest in the problem of municipal economics and improvements. It is, however, a trade organization, made up of the representative business men of the city. It has been nearly half a century in existence, but was reorganized in 1892, since which time it has given much attention to the questions referred to. Not much has been accomplished as yet, beyond the effort to arouse public sentiment; in this respect a great deal has been done, and no doubt many practical reforms will be carried to a successful issue. The membership is about 1000. The Chamber is sustained by membership fees and annual dues.

COMMITTEE OF FIFTY OF ALBANY, N. Y.

At a mass meeting held in the City Hall at Albany, Nov. 13, 1893, the following resolutions were adopted:—

Resolved, That the undersigned gentlemen be and they are hereby appointed a *Committee of Fifty* to consider what action shall be taken to prevent the recurrence of fraudulent registration and fraudulent voting at elections to be hereafter held in this city, and to devise, prepare and carry into execution such plans and methods of administration, and to procure the passage of such legislation as will have that result. (Here follow the names of fifty prominent citizens of Albany.) And further

Resolved, That the following-named gentlemen (Dean Sage, Arthur L. Andrews, Abraham Lansing) be and they are hereby appointed a committee of three to employ counsel and cause such proceedings to be taken as shall result in the conviction and punishment of the criminals guilty of false registration and fraudulent voting at the election recently held in this city; and Hon. James W. Eaton, the District Attorney of this city, is hereby requested to aid in every way in the indictment, prosecution and punishment of such offenders.

It was explained that, of the Committee of Fifty, twenty

names had been selected from each of the Democratic and Republican and one from the Prohibition parties, eight from a list of non-partisan citizens and one as a representative of the labor organizations.

At a meeting of the Committee of Fifty the following organization was effected :—

Chairman, Grange Sard ; Vice-Chairman, Vreeland H. Youngman ; Treasurer, Dudley Olcott ; Secretary, John W. McHarg.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.

A movement has been started in this city, under the lead of Mr. Charles R. Sligh, to organize a Municipal League. In March, 1894, the Board of Trade appointed a committee on municipal affairs, that has decided to "report to the board at its next meeting a recommendation that all organized societies, such as labor organizations, churches, the pastor's conference, etc., be invited to each select two of its members to consult with the municipal committee of the board upon all proposed city legislation, charter amendments, etc. It is thought by this representation of all interests the greatest good to the greatest number can be secured in municipal legislation."

GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUBS OF NEW YORK.

These Clubs are organized to bring together, upon some permanent plan, all citizens who desire good city government, and who are in sympathy with the following statement of principles :—

"Believing that a majority of the citizens of New York desire good municipal government, which means clean streets, a plentiful supply of pure water, a vigilant Health Board, unbiased by political proclivities, reasonably low taxes and rents, protection of property, life and limb, proper rapid transit accommodations, and that rigorous enforcement of city ordinances which is indispensable to the general comfort ;" and,

"That the reason why the citizens of New York do not enjoy these things is that the majority who desire good government are not organized to secure them ; whereas, the few men

who make personal profit out of bad government are highly and effectively organized;" and,

"Moreover, the former allow themselves to be divided along the lines of national parties, while the latter vote as a unit with whichever party is most likely to secure them office;" and,

"There is no reason why nominations to our city offices should be made by the Republican or Democratic party. The experience of a hundred years has demonstrated that national parties regard municipal offices in no other light than as strongholds of patronage, rewards for party service, or occasion for political traffic. In other words, they put men into municipal office because of party service, and not because of personal fitness."

It is intended to continue the formation of Good Government Clubs until there shall be one in every Assembly District, where they will be useful not only as centres of non-partisan political work, but also to promote social intercourse among their members.

The members of all the clubs organized on this plan, as well as the members of other clubs, and indeed all citizens, whether members of clubs or not, who believe in these principles, will, it is hoped, be eventually grouped in an organization for the purpose of nominating and electing candidates with the help and support of the clubs before mentioned.

The Good Government Clubs have set forth as their cardinal principle the separation of municipal government from national politics, and, with a view to securing this, are directing their energies to securing honest and unbiased primaries; ballot reform; separate elections; home rule.

The dues of the Clubs are one dollar initiation fee and fifty cents a month, or six dollars a year.

The Secretaries of the respective Clubs are as follows:—Club A, Territory N. E. of 7th Avenue and 40th Street, Edmond Kelly, 120 Broadway; Club B, Territory N. W. of 7th Avenue and 40th Street, Theodore I. Haubner, 176 W. 95th Street; Club C, Territory W. of 7th Avenue, between 40th and 72d Streets, Lewis C. King, 171 Front Street; Club D, Territory S. W. of 4th Avenue and 40th Street, Charles Taber, 26 Exchange Place; Club E, Territory S. E. of 4th Avenue and 40th Street, Charles Wheeler Barnes, 54 William Street; Club F, Territory 8th, 9th and 13th Assembly Districts, John P. Faure, 238 W. 11th Street; Club G, Territory 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th and 5th Assembly Districts, William A. Dalton, 26 Delancey Street.

In order to promote more effectively the objects of their organization and to enable them to take united and harmonious action, the Clubs have established a Confederation and a Constitution providing for a Good Government Club Council, composed of representatives chosen annually by the Clubs of the Confederation. The Confederation has the power "to take action upon all matters that lie within the scope of the legitimate activity of the Clubs" and "to call a Convention of all the Clubs, which Convention may, in its discretion, nominate or endorse candidates for public office."

GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUB OF YONKERS, N. Y.

This Club is "organized to promote honest, efficient and economical government in the City of Yonkers, and will welcome to its membership all citizens without distinction of party, who are in sympathy with its purposes. Its efforts shall be directed in behalf of honest and open primaries, ballot reform, a more general interest in charter elections. It is one of the chief aims of the Club to weaken the influences of partisan politics in the government of the City of Yonkers. To this end such influence as it may have shall be in behalf of the nomination of fit candidates by all parties, especially such candidates as are in favor of conducting the affairs of the city on a business and non-partisan basis."

The Club is governed by fifteen trustees, and has 122 members, and no person holding a public office shall be eligible as a trustee. The annual dues are \$5. The officers are: President, Norton P. Otis; Vice Presidents, Datus C. Smith and William L. Heermance; Secretary, Richard L. Condon, 81 Main street; Treasurer, Louis Simpson.

HARTFORD, CONN.

A movement has been instituted in this city to establish a City Club for the purpose of developing an interest in public affairs. The plan has been undertaken by men of energy and ability, who mean to make a success of it. The *Courant* says "As we understand it, partisan politics are to have no place in

the purpose or management of the Club, and, if its membership should reach a thousand voters or twice that, there is no idea of binding them to vote together and making of them a new party in the sense that all must vote as the majority order them to. Each member will be free to vote as he sees fit, but all of them will have the facts as to candidates and issues in local elections fully set before them. They will be able to inform others and presumably the result would be to kindle popular interest in local affairs."

KANSAS CITY PARTY.

This year has marked the development of an independent movement in Kansas City, intended solely to take the city government from under partisan control, and conduct it on business principles in the interests of the citizens. It was thought advisable to bring about the selection of a committee of citizens to be charged with duties similar to those of a political central committee, but composed of men of ability and influence, representative of all classes and interests, and without political bias in city affairs. A petition addressed to the seven presidents of the leading associations charged with the consideration of public affairs, calling upon them to take the initiative in such a movement, was circulated and largely signed by tax-payers. As a result, the presidents met (in their individual capacities) and discussed the question. Six of them were in sympathy with the independent movement, and appointed twenty men as a nucleus of a committee of seventy; these twenty being charged with the selection of fifty other citizens. The full committee has been appointed and has placed in the field a ticket for municipal offices. The details for a permanent organization are now being considered.

LIBRARY HALL ASSOCIATION OF CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS.

The purposes of this Association "shall be to secure the nomination and election of proper candidates for municipal

office ; to procure the punishment of all persons who may be guilty of election frauds, maladministration of office or misappropriation of public funds ; to advocate and promote a public service based upon character and capability only ; and to promote intelligent discussion of municipal affairs by the publication and distribution of reliable information in relation thereto."

Any citizen of Cambridge shall be eligible to membership without regard to his political preferences.

The officers of the Association are President, one Vice-President from each Ward, a Treasurer, a Secretary, three Auditors, and an Executive Committee of five from each Ward, who are elected at the annual meeting in October. No person holding any salaried position under the National, State or City Government, and no member of either branch of the City Council, is eligible for election to any office of the Association. Any officer of the Association who shall become a candidate for any of the above offices shall cease to hold his position as an officer.

The officers are : President, Richard H. Dana ; Vice-Presidents, Wm. B. Durant, Horace O. Bright, Louis H. W. Vaupel, Herman Bird, Arthur E. Denison ; Secretary, George G. Wright ; Treasurer, Frederick Odiorne.

MASSACHUSETTS REFORM CLUB.

The membership of this Club, organized in 1882, is "limited to those persons, irrespective of party, in favor of civil service reform, reforms in legislation and political action, and in the administration of government ; of independent action ; and in the promotion of these objects by free discussion at the meetings of the Club, and shall not exceed 300." There are now 262 members. Its publications consist of annual reports, and occasional addresses delivered before it. The subject of municipal reform has frequently been discussed.

Its officers are : President, Charles R. Codman ; Secretary and Treasurer, Andrew Fiske ; Assistant Secretary and Treasurer, Charles Warren.

MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

The Society was organized half a dozen years ago, and has at present about 200 members. It has issued no regular series of publications, although it has, from time to time, printed and circulated tracts and reports of lectures to serve immediate purposes. Its activity has been in the line of meetings and lectures. It holds regular quarterly meetings for addresses and discussion; and each spring it arranges a course of lectures given at the Old South Meeting House, upon subjects related to social and political reform. Its lectures the present spring will be devoted to the subject of "A More Beautiful Public Life." Last year the course was upon "The Newspaper in American Life," Edward Everett Hale, Charles Dudley Warner, Prof. Charles H. Livermore and others presenting in a strong manner the importance of Newspaper Reform. The course the preceding year was upon "Qualifications for Citizenship." Still earlier the general subject of Municipal Administration and Reform was the theme of many lectures. It was in these lectures that the notable recent reforms in Birmingham, Berlin and other European cities were first thoroughly presented to the Boston public. Many of the men active in the formation of the new Municipal League in Boston are members of the Society.

The officers are: Honorary President, Rev. Edward Everett Hale; President, Edwin D. Mead; Secretary, C. T. Crehore; Treasurer, Seth P. Smith.

MINNEAPOLIS BOARD OF TRADE.

According to a local authority, "the Minneapolis Board of Trade has projected a plan for the extension of its functions. The plan proposed by the committee at the meeting of December 11th, 1893, and unanimously adopted by the directors, appeals to general public interest. Instead of restricting its attention to matters of trade, manufacture and material development solely, the board, according to the new programme outlined, will during

the next year take up the general municipal interests of the tax-paying and non-tax-paying citizen.

"The plan outlined is at once bold and attractive. If carried into successful execution, as every sign indicates it will be, the board will be the centre of general popular interest from this time on. It deserves the moral support of all citizens, and it is to be hoped that it will earn all the support and interest which it is bound to receive. Properly, the Board will become the Citizens' Congress, where all public questions in which citizens in general are interested will come up for discussion, investigation and popular action. Questions will be placed before the Board, thence into the hands of specially qualified committees, and thereupon be discussed from an intelligent and impartial standpoint. To this end the membership is being extended to represent a wider range of interests and classes."

The officers are : President, A. L. Crocker ; Vice Presidents, L. W. Campbell, H. A. Towne ; Secretary, John T. Hemphill ; Treasurer, Nelson Williams.

MUNICIPAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION OF KANSAS CITY.

This Association was organized in January, 1892, as a result of the awakening of public interest in municipal affairs. Its purposes are : "The accumulation and study of all such information and statistics from the experiences of other cities as may have a bearing upon ; (a) the method of levying taxes ; (b) the expenditure of public moneys ; (c) the establishment and maintenance of public parks and boulevards ; (d) paving side-walks and street cleaning ; (e) water and gas service ; (f) sewerage and sanitation ; (g) laying out of additions ; (h) all forms of intramural transportations ; (i) every department of municipal government and usage ; also to take vigorous and effective measures to secure the co-operation of all good citizens in publishing and promoting every measure of improvement and reform which may benefit Kansas City ; and to secure the passage of such ordinances as will promote the health, comfort and safety of the community."

The Board of Directors have charge of the work of the Asso-

ciation, which is carried on through Committees upon the several subjects for which the Association is incorporated.

The Association has had two years of active life, and has made its influence felt, and has been accorded a full measure of respect and sympathy. It is non-partisan and takes the position that political affiliations can work only harm in municipal affairs.

MUNICIPAL LEAGUE OF MILWAUKEE.

This organization is non-partisan, and "seeks primarily to eliminate from the city and county governments every trace of national and state politics, and introduce improved business principles and methods in the management of their affairs." Its declaration of principles states:—

"We believe that the people are entitled to conditions that will uniformly secure the best men for the public service.

"It is our intention to avoid all animosities and primarily address ourselves to the correction of the fundamental conditions, of which imperfect government is the result. Nevertheless we mean to protest in unmistakable terms against existing evils, wherever it is believed that such a course will be beneficial, and where we think the public good requires it.

"We are not organized for spasmodic or sensational work as a campaign club, but for the purpose of maturing and suggesting for public consideration, from time to time, such reformatory measures in legislation and expenditures as the better sentiment of the community may approve.

"We are devoted to the best interests of Milwaukee, and seek the establishment of a simpler, more effective and more independent system of government. This city is in no sense a political organization, but, so to speak, an independent, chartered business corporation, existing not as a part of the government, like a state, but under it, like a private enterprise, established solely and especially to administer its own affairs under the general laws of the state, for the welfare and prosperity of its citizens.

"We hold that our people are too heavily taxed in view of results. Much is left undone, to which the people are entitled, and much unnecessary expense incurred. We confidently believe that, with proper support, and a careful and vigorous policy, we

shall be able to secure better government, while materially reducing and equalizing the burdens of taxation.

"The foregoing principles are fundamental in our organization, and we believe are of vital importance to the whole population. While it is intended to leave members perfectly free in the exercise of loyalty to their respective parties in the state and national affairs, it is hoped that, in the enforcement of these principles, the people of the city will find their true interest."

This League was organized in March, 1893, and has upwards of 600 members enrolled. Every member in the county "interested in the cause of good municipal government, who is prepared to act in all local matters regardless of the dictates of political party or 'bosses,' and who will make the integrity and qualifications of candidates henceforth his only criterion for office, may become a member of this league by subscribing to the foregoing declaration and paying one dollar to the treasurer."

The league elects a citizens' committee of one hundred, having power to appoint such sub-committees and officers as are necessary to conduct its affairs.

Its officers are: President, John A. Butler, 123 19th Street; Vice Presidents, James A. Mallory, John C. Koch, Jerome R. Brigham, Joshua Stark; Recording Secretary, Edward K. West; Corresponding Secretary, DeWitt Davis; Treasurer, Jacob E. Friend.

MUNICIPAL LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA.

This league was organized in the latter part of 1891, pledged to the enforcement of the following principles:—

"We believe that the highest principles of municipal self-government in the United States will be materially promoted by the absolute separation of Municipal politics from National and State politics.

"The material prosperity of all citizens residing or having business interests in the city of Philadelphia depends, in a great measure, upon the honest and efficient conduct of its government by enlightened methods and upon business principles. Philadelphia should have the most improved system of taxes, of street paving, of lighting, of water, of drainage, of schools, of transit, and all other public necessities and conveniences. To secure these

results will be the earnest and incessant aim of the Municipal League of Philadelphia.

"We pledge ourselves to nominate or indorse only such candidates as we believe to be honest and capable and in sympathy with the principle of absolute separation of Municipal from State and National politics.

"We advocate the practical extension of the highest principles of Civil Service Reform to all municipal departments, and demand a rigorous observance of all laws and regulations concerning appointments to, and removals from, the municipal civil service.

"It will be the special object of the Municipal League of Philadelphia to make a thorough and scientific investigation of the correct principles of local self-government, especially as adapted to this municipality, and to collect and publish all appropriate information on the defects and needs of our city government. While the members of the League may be members of widely different National or State organizations, all will be united in the common purpose of obtaining the best city government for the wisest expenditure of money, of advancing the material growth of the municipality, and of stimulating that spirit of progress in her citizens which will secure for them and their descendants the largest measure of domestic comfort and of commercial prosperity."

The League admits to membership any one who will sign the following application, or one which the Board of Managers may consider as an equivalent:—

"Believing that the affairs of our Municipal government will be better and more economically administered by the absolute separation of Municipal politics from State and National politics, and being in hearty accord with the Declaration of Principles of the Municipal League of Philadelphia, I hereby make application for membership in same."

There are no dues, the organization being sustained by voluntary contributions.

The League is managed by a President, Vice President, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, and a Board of Managers, composed of the said officers and one delegate from each Ward Association, and twenty-five members elected at large. The aim is to organize in each ward in the city a Ward Association, which elects a delegate to the Central Board; and a

Division Association in each election precinct, which elects a delegate to the Ward Executive Committee.

The League is rapidly growing in numbers and strength, and has already accomplished substantial results in the defeat of bad candidates and the election of competent representatives to the local legislature, composed of Select and Common Councils.

The League has published the following pamphlets: "Duties of Citizens in Reference to Municipal Government," by Rev. Wm. I. Nichols, 1892; "The Limits of Party Obligation," by Henry Budd, 1893; "The City of Philadelphia—Its Stockholders and Directors," by Charles Richardson, 1893; "Pennsylvania Ballot Law of 1893," 1894; "The Proper Standard of Municipal Affairs," by Theodore M. Etting, 1894; "Municipal Politics, —The Old System and the New," 1894.

The officers are: President, George Burnham, Jr.; Vice-President, Charles Richardson; Recording Secretary, Thomas B. Prichett; Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, 514 Walnut Street.

MUNICIPAL LEAGUE OF TACOMA, WASH.

This organization, recently started, gives promises of excellent work. George H. Stone is the President.

MUNICIPAL ORDER LEAGUE OF CHICAGO.

This League was organized in March, 1892, by Chicago ladies who had become desperate over the unsightly and unsanitary condition of the city. The object of the association is "to secure and maintain public health and cleanliness." It secured, the first year, a membership of about 400 women and 100 men. All of the officers are women, and the main work of the society has been done by them, not without substantial help from the men, however. One of its officers says: "It was believed, and experience has strengthened the belief, that women, being freer from political and business entanglements than men, would be bolder in attack-

ing public evils, and less easily influenced by politicians, contractors, etc., than men.

"Our great work has been to arouse public interest and quicken the public conscience on matters relating to municipal affairs. The entire newspaper press of the city was enlisted on our side, and that alone was a great step.

"Our main work, so far, has been the securing of the prompt removal and destruction by fire of all city garbage and waste material. Garbage crematories have been erected, and traveling crematories have been set to work, and we feel sure that another summer will see the end of every garbage dump in the suburbs or neighborhood of Chicago.

"We are working for Free Baths for the people, and under our auspices and control the city has built, and will open soon, its first Public Bath. We have urged, and finally obtained from the city, many Public Drinking Fountains, down-town, and to keep the litter of papers and other *débris* from the streets we have secured from the city the placing on conspicuous corners of waste-paper boxes. This has really added much to the appearance of our streets.

"We are starting out now on a crusade against glaring and crime-suggesting signs and posters, and against what Emerson calls 'the fury of expectoration' in America. This last work we expect to do by influencing the owners and managers of public vehicles, street cars, theatres, etc., in favor of the establishment of rigid rules against the tobacco chewing fiend."

Its officers are: President, Mrs. H. W. Duncanson; Vice-Presidents, Miss Ada C. Sweet, Miss Jane Addams, Mrs. J. S. Hobbs, Dr. S. H. Stevenson, Mrs. W. B. Keen, Jr.; Treasurer, Mrs. O. H. Hicks; Secretary, Mrs. S. C. Tobin; office 70 E. Madison Street.

NEW ROCHELLE (N. Y.) CITIZEN'S LEAGUE.

This League was organized in March, 1893, for the purpose "of securing good government in town and village on non-partisan lines." The League has a committee on organization, consisting of five members from each town election district within the village, and five members from that portion of the town outside of the village, making in all seven sub-committees on

organization. It has 125 members and has already accomplished substantial results, electing last year its entire *village* ticket. At present it is engaged in an effort to reform the *town* government.

The necessary expenses of the League are met by voluntary contributions, but assessment of candidates is not allowed under any circumstances.

The officers are: President, John A. Offord; Secretary and Treasurer, George Albro.

TAXPAYERS' ASSOCIATION OF BALTIMORE.

This Association has for its object "to give more character to the value of real estate, to promote the best interests of the city of Baltimore and of every taxpayer." In carrying out its purposes, the Association prepares and suggests good laws and ordinances; scrutinizes all legislation inimical to public interests, and prevents extravagant and unnecessary expenditures of public money. It has conducted a series of popular lectures, by well-informed men, on subjects relating to taxation and the best methods of local government. These lectures have been published in book form, and make a most interesting and instructive volume. The officers are: President, Henry N. Bankard; Vice-Presidents, Edward Stabler, Jr., Dr. Milton Hammond, Gustav Seigmund; Secretary and Treasurer, George P. Renner, 203 E. Fayette Street.

TRADES LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA.

The Trades League is organized "for the purpose of improving the commerce, the business and the manufacturing interests of the port and city of Philadelphia by concerted effort, and to advocate and encourage any and all measures that tend to benefit the business, the prosperity or convenience of the citizens of Philadelphia."

The work is carried on through Board Meetings and Committees on Municipal Affairs, Law, Legislation, etc., etc. The League was organized in March, 1891, and has issued three

annual reports and an edition of 5000 of "The Book of Philadelphia," a handsomely illustrated volume devoted to setting forth the resources and facilities of the city. Upwards of 1500 firms belong to the organization, which is sustained by the annual dues of \$10 per firm.

The League has been successful in instituting a number of reforms greatly to the benefit of the city. Its officers are: President, William W. Foulkrod; Vice Presidents, George W. Blabon, John Field; Secretary, J. N. Fitzgerald; Treasurer, Richard L. Austin; General Railway Agent, Chas. P. Hatch, 421 Chestnut Street.

UNION LEAGUE CLUB OF CHICAGO.

This Club, organized in 1879, has for its objects, *inter alia* :—

"To inculcate a higher appreciation of the value and sacred obligations of American citizenship; to maintain the civil and political equality of all citizens in every section of our common country, and to aid in the enforcement of all laws enacted to preserve the purity of the ballot-box; and to resist and oppose corruption and promote economy in office, and to secure honesty and efficiency in the administration of national, state, and municipal affairs."

The Club is entirely non-partisan, and has always taken a prominent part in needed reforms in municipal and national affairs. All political questions are referred to the Committee on Political Activity, consisting of nine members, elected annually. This Committee also provides topics for discussion at the quarterly meeting, and in this way the Club directs public attention to many important municipal questions.

The Club arranges for annual celebrations on Washington's Birthday in various parts of Chicago, at which addresses by prominent men are delivered. An annual dinner is held in the evening of the same day, when an orator of national prominence delivers an address. James Russell Lowell and Edward Everett Hale have been among those who have delivered orations.

The officers are: President, John P. Wilson; Vice-Presidents, Hon. C. C. Kohlsaat, James H. Moore; Treasurer, Edward B.

Lathrop ; Secretary, Walter H. Wilson ; Board of Directors, Edwin F. Bayley, Warren G. Purdy, William E. Kelley, Henry E. Weaver, Judge John Barton Payne, R. G. Chandler, Alexander H. Revell, Harry G. Selfridge, William A. Bond.

VOLUNTEER ELECTORAL LEAGUE OF MONTREAL.

This League has for its objects "to revise and perfect the voters' lists ; to encourage the nomination of candidates of known integrity for public office ; to use all *legitimate* means to secure their return ; to prevent fraudulent and dishonest practices in elections ; to cause to be followed up and prosecuted, to the full extent of the law, those detected in any violation of the Election Act ; to suggest and promote any legislation, approved by the League, having for its object the purity of elections.

"The organization wishes it plainly understood that it is not a self-help society for the political advancement of its own members, and that it has no desire to nominate candidates, unless resolutely forced to it by the apathy of the citizens ; it is not intended that the organization shall enter the field where both candidates are good men, or where both are objectionable, reserving its strength for such contests as contain, in the opinion of the League, a plain issue between a good and bad nominee."

The League admits to active membership all citizens of Montreal who are ready and willing to take full part in all election work, and to associate membership all who are willing to participate in some elections. It has accomplished very substantial results in the municipal elections of 1893 and 1894, and has succeeded in replacing some extremely bad Aldermen by respectable and competent men. The League has a Central Council, together with two representatives from each Ward and Ward Councils. There are 325 members, and "every man is individually responsible for just so much evil as his efforts might prevent."

The officers are : President, H. B. Ames ; Vice-Presidents, G. W. Stephens, Jr., Andrew Finn, E. A. Crowley, Henry Hadley ; Recording Secretary, T. J. Dawson ; Corresponding Secretary, J. F. Bannister, 12 University Street ; Treasurer, W. C. Finley.

WOMEN'S HEALTH PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION OF BROOKLYN.

This Association was incorporated April 2, 1890, "to inspire the women of Brooklyn with a realization of their municipal obligations; to promote the health of the people and the cleanliness of the city by taking such action from time to time as may secure the enforcement of existing sanitary laws and regulations by calling the attention of the proper authorities to any violation thereof, and to procure the amendment of such laws and regulations when they shall be found insufficient for the prevention of acts injurious to the public health or cleanliness of the city."

There are five local or subordinate branches for the purpose of creating public sentiment. As to local work these auxiliary clubs, composed mostly of young women, meet once in two weeks to study and discuss municipal laws and political science. In these clubs there are enrolled about 600 members, and in the general association 400, making nearly 1000 women working for "a righteous government, better sanitary conditions and orderly streets, and exerting a moral influence which can not be overestimated."

This Association took a very active part in the campaign of 1893, which resulted in the election of Hon. Charles A. Schreien as Mayor of Brooklyn. A strong arraignment of the then existing condition of affairs was widely circulated by the members, who personally worked untiringly for Mr. Schreien's election.

The officers of the Association are: Mrs. James Scrimgeour; Vice President, Mrs. A. J. Perry; Treasurer, Mrs. Ethan Alan Doty; Secretaries, Miss Annie Phelps and Mrs. Edward White, 829 President street.

WOMEN'S HEALTH PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA.

The object of this Association (organized April, 1893), is "to create a sense of *individual* responsibility of the necessity for improving the sanitary condition of the city, and to provide a centre to which complaints of any neighborhood may be sent where

conditions prevail which are prejudicial to health." The society undertakes to forward such complaints to the proper official, and if the difficulty is not remedied, to find who is responsible for the neglect.

The methods adopted provide for frequent meetings, with addresses from those qualified to speak on the subjects of hygiene and sanitation (to which the general public is invited), and a pledge, sent to householders for their signatures, which binds them to observe certain rules regarding garbage, ashes, etc., and to report to the Committee any persistent carelessness in their neighborhood.

The society has aroused in its members a realizing sense that *each one* has real responsibility resting on her. The testimony of the Directors of Public Works and Safety and the Health authorities is that the Association's aid has been of value in many directions. There are at present about two hundred members.

The officers are : President, Mrs. Edwin L. Hall ; Vice-President, Mrs. J. M. Gallagher ; Secretary, Mrs. John G. Hovey ; Treasurer, Mrs. B. L. Rittenhouse.

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MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT AND REFORM.

The following bibliography contains the great bulk of important Municipal Reform literature to be found in pamphlets and periodicals, but is by no means complete. It is hoped that opportunity can be found to prepare an enlarged and descriptive list of all that has been published upon Municipal Reform and Municipal Government. Students of any specific line of work under either of these heads are advised carefully to consult Poole's "Index of Periodical Literature," as the editor of this list has made no attempt to include in it all the titles to be found in Poole.

This list is arranged alphabetically to facilitate quick and ready reference under subjects and authors.

EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS USED.

<i>A. J. P.</i>	American Journal of Politics.
<i>Alb. Law J.</i>	Albany Law Journal.
<i>Amer. Econ. Assn.</i>	American Economic Association Publications.
<i>Am. Law Rev.</i>	American Law Review.
<i>And. Rev.</i>	Andover Review.
<i>Annals</i>	Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.
<i>A. S. A.</i>	American Statistical Association Publications.
<i>At. Mon.</i>	Atlantic Monthly.
<i>Cen.</i>	Century.
<i>Char. Rev.</i>	Charity Review.
<i>Con. Rev.</i>	Contemporary Review.
<i>Cos.</i>	Cosmopolitan.
<i>C. U.</i>	Christian Union (now Outlook).
<i>C. S. R. A.</i>	Civil Service Reform Association.
<i>Dem. Rev.</i>	Democratic Review.
<i>Econ. Jour.</i>	Economic Journal.
<i>Ed. R.</i>	Edinburgh Review.
<i>Eng. Mag.</i>	English Magazine.
<i>For.</i>	Forum.
<i>Fort. Rev.</i>	Fortnightly Review.
<i>J. H. U. Studies</i>	Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science.
<i>Jour. Soc. Sci.</i>	Journal of the American Social Science Associa- tion.
<i>Jour. Stat. Soc.</i>	Journal of the Statistical Society of England.
<i>19 Cen.</i>	19th Century.
<i>N. A. R.</i>	North American Review.
<i>Nat.</i>	Nation.
<i>Nat. Rev.</i>	National Review.
<i>Q. J. E.</i>	Quarterly Journal of Economics.
<i>Quart.</i>	Quarterly Review.
<i>Pop. Sci.</i>	Popular Science Monthly.
<i>P. S. Q.</i>	Political Science Quarterly.
<i>Rev. Rev.</i>	Review of Review.
<i>Soc. Econ.</i>	Social Economist.
<i>Unit. Rev.</i>	Unitarian Review.
<i>West. Rev.</i>	Westminster Review.

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- First.—General condition of the laws affecting cities. This includes a list of all the special or local laws passed between 1886 and 1890.
- Secondly.—A summary of the constitutional provisions relating to municipal government and finance in the various States of the Union.
- Thirdly.—A summary of the municipal corporation Acts of Mass., Ohio, Pa., and California.
- Fourthly.—A statement of the finances of every city in the State of New York.
- Fifthly.—Tables showing the number and functions of the officials of every city of the State.
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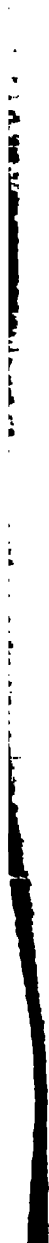
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